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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-022
Friday
3 February 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

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Activities of Seventh AWP Plenum Detailed

'Communique' Issued

AU0202181889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 89

["Communique on the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum met on 1-2 February 1989 under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary.

Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered a report on behalf of the AWP Central Committee Politburo: On Some Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture.

The plenum broadly discussed the report and approved the relevant decision.

The plenum also examined and adopted decisions on some organizational and cadre questions.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, addressed the plenum.

The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum

Changes in Council of Ministers

AU0202180089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 89

["Decree on Some Changes in the Composition of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In conformity with Article 78 of the Constitution, and acting on the proposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, decided:

1. Pali Miska is appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture.

2. Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is also appointed chairman of the State Control Commission.

3. Simon Stefani is appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal affairs.

4. Hekuran Isai is relieved of his functions as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and as minister of internal affairs, due to his transfer to another post.

5. Vangjel Cerrava is relieved of his function as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, due to his transfer to another post.

6. Besnik Bekteshi is relieved of his function as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and his appointed minister of industry and mining and, simultaneously, ad interim minister of energy.

7. Hajredin Celiku is appointed minister of transportation.

8. Enver Halili is relieved of his function as chairman of the State Control Commission and is appointed minister general secretary of the Council of Ministers.

9. Llambi Gegprifi is relieved of his function as minister of industry and mining, due to his transfer to another post.

10. Themie Thomai is relieved of her function as minister of agriculture, due to her transfer to another post.

11. Luan Babameto is relieved of his function as minister of transportation, due to his transfer to another post.

12. Lavdosh Ahmeti is relieved of his function as minister of energy, due to his transfer to another post.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 2 February 1989

Decree No. 7275

[Signed] Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Reshuffle in Party Announced

AU0202180689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Acting on the proposal of the AWP Central Committee Politburo, the AWP Central Committee at its meeting on 1 February 1989 decided:

1. Comrade Hekuran Isai is elected AWP Central Committee secretary.

2. Comrades Simon Stefani and Hajredin Celiku are to be relieved of their functions as secretaries of the AWP Central Committee, due to their transfer to other important posts.

The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum

Alia Speaks at Plenum

AU0202202489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Report on speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, at the seventh plenum of the AWP Central Committee in connection with cadre changes—date not given]

[Text] In connection with the aforementioned changes [in the AWP Central Committee], which were unanimously approved by the plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, gave the following explanation:

Comrades, The AWP Central Committee Politburo, has charged me with the task of presenting some organizational questions to this plenum. This concerns certain cadre changes that were deemed necessary in the Council of Ministers and in the AWP Central Committee Secretariat.

I would like to stress from the very beginning that these changes are not connected with any question concerning the trustworthiness or political position of any comrade. They are dictated solely by the intention to provide new impulses to the work of the party, the state, and the economy.

Cadre movements in the central organs, districts, or at the base are a normal process dictated by life and the dialectical development of society. They are intended to make it possible to better confront new and more complicated tasks, which require increasingly greater dynamism, competence, and culture. It would not be correct if the successes and weakness at work are tied up solely with the work of cadres. In the same way, assessments would not be complete if the role of cadres is ignored. When leading cadres are closely linked with the masses, when cadres rely on the creativity and initiative of the masses, when, trusting in the party's word, cadres know how to give orders, persuade, and mobilize and set in motion the energies of individuals, then the cadres directly influence the proper functioning of the sector, district, enterprise, cooperative, or institution where they lead.

There have been and there are numerous successes in the work of the state and economic organs. This is obvious in all fields. However, it must not be forgotten that simultaneously there are also weaknesses and shortcomings and, in certain directions, we believe that these have also caused difficulties. I am concerned here with those weaknesses that are due to the subjective factor, with the work of individuals. It is essential to improve our work radically in this direction, raising the effectiveness of the party's activity, by mobilizing the working masses, by making better use of the material and human opportunities of our society, with greater results.

A very important decision has been adopted by this plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out. It must be implemented without fail. But the other tasks that we are confronted with in other fields of the economy, culture, and defense also require mastery and more persistence. It is more than urgent to make our work more agile at every link, to raise the sense of responsibility of every cadre and worker, to strengthen discipline everywhere, and to resolutely combat bureaucracy and routine, indifference, and slow work; it is necessary, at the same time, to exercise strict party and state control for the implementation of decisions. To meet these requirements, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, changes in leading cadres are also needed, both in the central organs and in those at the base. Difficult work requires more qualified and energetic cadres, cadres who are more responsible, including members of the AWP Central Committee and of the Politburo.

The proposals concerning some changes of cadres in the central apparatuses are intended to improve the work of the Council of Ministers and the AWP Central Committee Secretariat. In the Council of Ministers it is essential that the Politburo comrades who are members of the government should be directly in charge of those departments where the tasks are greater. Consequently, we have proposed that those comrades who hold the position of deputy premiers should at the same time be in charge of a department, and should not be in charge of other departments, too. In this way, everyone will assume full responsibility for their respective departments and be accountable to the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister.

Under these conditions, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, among other things, in order to ease Comrade Adil's job it is essential that the role of general secretary of the Council of Ministers be elevated and assume more of a political nature. The general secretary, who will have the status of minister, is to direct the apparatus of the Council of Ministers and, under the direction of the Prime Minister, is to prepare the meetings of the Presidency and of the Council of Ministers.

The Politburo is of the opinion that the work of the AWP Central Committee Secretariat should also be improved. This is particularly related to the implementation of the party's line pertaining to economic problems. The AWP Central Committee Secretariat and apparatus must better concentrate their work on mobilizing the communists and the working people in the central organs and at the base to implement various decisions, to raise the consciousness of the masses, to generally apply advanced experience, and to study and work out problems pertaining to the correct implementation and further development of the party's work in the field of the economy.

Khristov, Delegation Depart for Caracas

AU2801205689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] An official Bulgarian delegation led by Minister Khristo Khristov departed today for Venezuela. The delegation will take part in the inauguration ceremony for the newly elected president, Carlos Andres Perez.

Jose Gregorio Gonzalez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Venezuela to Bulgaria, was at Sofia Airport to see the delegation off.

Ties With USSR in Biotechnologies Expand

AU0102195589 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—The exhibition opened here today speaks of the development of biotechnologies in the USSR and of the Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation in this sphere.

During the last two years fifteen documents have been signed for cooperation between economic and scientific organizations from Bulgaria and the USSR in the sphere of microbiology, pharmaceuticals and other prospective trends. Three joint enterprises have been established for scientific and production activity. Good are also the prospects for the activity of the "Biotekhmash" joint society for production of membrane technology and microbiological equipment.

Along with the broadening of the joint production on a mutually advantageous basis, the efforts of the two countries will be oriented toward cooperation in gene engineering, cell and tissue cultivation and in other vanguard biotechnologies. It is envisaged in the near future to create new generations of bioproducts in the sphere of agriculture, food industry and medicine.

Customs Service Officer Reviews Successes

AU2801105289 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Jan 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Nikolay Nikolov, chief of the Customs Administration, by Aleksandur Nachev: "On Both Sides of the Customs Barrier"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Our brief conversations with the chiefs of certain of our customhouses were prompted by the desire to report something rather sensational and interesting on the eve of International Customhouses Day, which is being celebrated today. However, this was not to be. The situation was calm everywhere, at least for the moment.... [passage omitted]

I asked Nikolay Nikolov, chief of the Customs Administration, if he would give a very brief outline of the work of the Bulgarian customhouses.

[Nikolov] Every year our customs posts check on average about 17 million travelers, 14 million tonnes of foreign trade goods, and 3 million vehicles, including 450,000 trucks, that cross Bulgarian territory. We try to facilitate the international economic, tourist, and cultural exchange, as well as all kinds of journeys, provided, naturally, that these are not undertaken with selfish purposes that violate the laws of our country.

[Nachev] In other words, you maintain the best feelings toward every conscientious traveler, but at the same time you are uncomprising with regard to the lawbreakers?

[Nikolov] Naturally. A well-disposed attitude toward the traveler is also a matter of politeness. However, no country that respects itself would permit any kind of contraband operations to be carried out against itself.

[Nachev] The opinion exists in Europe and throughout the world, as voiced by various customs officers in other countries, that the Bulgarian customs officers provide a reliable barrier against narcotics smuggling.

[Nikolov] Such acknowledgements have been made of our work at more than one international conference. Specialists from other countries quite frequently visit us in order to study our experience. Our successes essentially result from the training given to our officers, their strict, uncompromising attitude toward the lawbreakers, and their high awareness that by their work they protect the vital interests not only of our own people, but also of people in the world as a whole, as demonstrated, for example, in the seizures of parcels of narcotics on their way to Western Europe.

[Nachev] How do you assess last year's results?

[Nikolov] In 1988 our customs officers prevented 154 kg of heroin from being carried through our country, which is a considerable contribution to the efforts of the international community to combat narcotics traffic. In addition, 19,200 violations were discovered and punished. [passage omitted]

[Nachev] Continuing my conversation with Nikolay Nikolov, the issue we discussed was intimately connected with the latest changes in our life and how they are reflected in the work of the customs service.

[Nikolov] The role of the customhouses in controlling foreign trade activity has especially increased under the new conditions of socioeconomic development. The export and import of goods by persons has been facilitated by Council of Ministers' Decree No. 33 of 1988. Instructions will soon be published in connection with this decree. Of course, much theoretical and practical work remains to be done on improving customs inspection under the conditions of the company-based organization of our economy.

There can be no doubt that all this will be done in the interest of the state, the labor collectives, and the individual.

BCP Membership Rights, Shortcomings Discussed

AU2801164989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Dilyan Todorov article: "There Is One Entrance, But What About the Exits?"]

[Text] This was a long letter, written with significant expressions, dealing with difficult questions, and searching for answers. I reread it several times, put it aside, and resumed reading it without deciding what to do about it. The author, a woman, did not ask for anything, she did not ask for interference, for she had already carried out her decision, she just described, how she had reached this decision. Finally I decided to publicize only the causes and their results.

They are sufficient to make all of us think about this problem.

Part of the letter read: "Because of shortage of manpower in the workshop of my factory I began to cover two shifts. This meant that I was working for the benefit of the enterprise—contributing to the fulfillment of the plan—but I was also working for my own profit, some people would say. Nevertheless, I donated this profit to the 13 Centuries of Bulgaria Fund. I contributed 2,000 leva for the construction of a new Pioneer's palace. I was congratulated on this decision by my colleagues who are not party members, but someone else, a BCP member, reprimanded me: Why are you so stupid, giving away the wages earned by your own efforts? You have been working hard for 16 and a half hours a day. Who is going to praise you for this? The state is not that poor. Today everyone is trying to take, and not give." The letter further stated: "I was quite embarrassed by these words, because they were expressed just at the time when we are restructuring. Since I had other questions to ask related to the changes in our revolutionary era, and tried to obtain answers to them from authoritative people, but did not get any such answers, I, the worker Rositsa Todorova Georgieva, as a participant in our new revolutionary movement, taking into consideration all wrongly interpreted questions, and being unjustly accused, decided to restructure myself, and to expel myself from the party."

Throughout the 5 years I have been working at the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board, this is the second letter of this kind I have come across. The first letter described a similar case: It was about a BCP member, who after his retirement, returned to his native village. Having noticed the passive attitude of the local primary party organization and the existence of several irregularities, he tried to improve things, but did not succeed. There is even more: He was slandered and even put in prison for 3 months. After his release from prison he went to the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission and gave back his party membership card, because in his opinion..."a Communist who has been sentenced to serve a prison term in our country should not remain a party member." A year and a half later, the primary BCP organization remembered to expel him from the party, for "irregular payments of membership subscription and unexplained absence from party meetings." The municipal control-auditing commission restored justice and annuled the decision, but retained the definition "lapsed."

I had to reflect on the aforementioned two cases, because of Stoyne Iliev from Izvorovo Village in the Antonovo Municipality, who expressed the following view on this issue:

..."Since a citizen voluntarily applies for BCP membership, he should be able to leave the party on the same voluntary basis, if in self-critical spirit he has decided that he has lost his qualities as a party member, or if for some other reason, he can no longer be useful to the party."

In my own opinion the problem has two sides: Practical experience shows that such a decision is usually adopted following a conflict between a party member and a party, economic, or administrative leading body. In all these cases the basic party organization has not interfered on a timely basis to clarify the reasons and take the necessary steps to overcome the difficulties. It also has failed to adopt the necessary measures and has not tried to dissipate the party member's feeling that the other side involved in the conflict represents the whole party.

Since Article 1 of the BCP Statute clearly determines the qualifications for party membership, an individual's personal decision to leave the party should make the Communists around him try to persuade him and help him distinguish between private feelings and common issues. If this is not possible and if the person is unwilling to change his mind, the best thing would be to respect his decision and follow the popular saying that "you can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink." A different approach, namely pressure and coercion, is likely to produce the opposite effect. It might prompt an erroneous but understandable interpretation on the part of non-party people regarding the actions of the primary party organization and even intensify the existing conflicts, or provoke new ones within the party organization itself.

Nevertheless, this applies to party members who have "lapsed" from the party in the aforementioned way, namely as a result of their personal decision. In the case of party members who have lapsed according to Article 8 of the BCP Statute, however, the primary party organizations in which they have been members should be considered totally responsible. Over the period from 1 January to 1 December 1988 the party separated itself from less than 1 percent of its members. The highest percentage of lapsed members are from the Sofia Oblast BCP Organization—15.3 percent. The Lovech Oblast

Organization lost 15.9 percent; the Razgrad Oblast organization—13 percent; the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast organization—12.1 percent, and the Khaskovo, Burgas, and Varna Oblast organizations lost nearly the same percent of members, namely approximately 10 percent. The Plovdiv BCP Oblast organization lost 9 percent, while the Sofia City BCP organization lost 6.3 percent of its members within the same period.

In 90 percent of the cases, the party bureau or its secretary were the initiators of the members' expulsions, while in 1 percent of the cases the party committee adopted the respective decision. Only in 2 percent of the cases party groups, or individual party members submitted proposals in this respect. The control auditing commissions interfered 14 times, and 3 of the proposals on expulsion were submitted by economic managements, while 2 proposals were submitted by legal organs.

In reviewing these figures, we can conclude that party groups and primary organizations are strict enough with their members. This, however, would be a hasty conclusion, because it is in contradiction with the reasons for imposing punishments. In 92 percent of the cases, the punishment was imposed for violation of party discipline, while in 5.8 percent of the cases moral encroachments were involved, and in 1 percent of the cases the punishment was induced by crimes and violations of labor discipline.

The commentary on these statistical data should be brief. The party organs and organizations did not pay sufficient attention to all those former party members, they failed to react on time, they manifested lack of criticism and lack of sympathy, or totally unjustified leniency. This made it possible that violations should be increasingly intensified, and made it possible for those who committed the violations in question to draw farther away from the requirements of the BCP Statute on party membership. To confirm the aforementioned statement we should point out that more than half of those expelled had been party members for over 10 years, while 1.2 percent of them had become members during the period from 1944 to 1950, and, 2.9 percent of them had joined the party during the 1951-60 period. Only 3 persons who have been party members for a 3-year period are among those punished.

I would like to cite another example, because it may serve as a guideline related to the problem in primary party organizations in the material production sector and in residential districts—58 percent of those punished are workers, while 87 percent are retirees, housewives, or non-working people. It is necessary to pay greater attention to the Communists who are employed as engineering technical workers (since they represent 4.6 percent of those punished), considering the growing importance of their role among the labor collectives in the present stage of development.

The fact that the decision adopted is correct appears from the the reaction of those punished: 75 percent of them did not appear at the meeting in question, 14.4 percent accepted the decision as just, while 6.6 percent objected on certain points. Only 10 percent of the punished party members expressed their disagreement with the reasons given for their punishment.

In accordance with the total number of BCP members, the number of those lapsed during the period under review is less than 0.1 percent. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the negative example of Communists related to people in their environment, this question should not be underestimated. The prompt and accurate reaction of the primary party organizations, as well as a careful analysis of the situation and a categorical stand on the behavior of an undisciplined party member can only increase the prestige of the given party organization among the labor collective.

The question of the Communist's discipline is very topical today, it affects his attitude on restructuring and his contribution to the implementation of the July Concept, but this is another topic of conversation....

DPRK Diplomats Deny Prague Envoy Recalled

AU0302104989 Paris AFP in English
0021 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Feb 3 (AFP)—North Korean diplomats stationed here have denied reports from Tokyo that their ambassador had been recalled in a row over Czechoslovakian moves to establish diplomatic links with South Korea.

"Our ambassador is in Czechoslovakia and he is staying here," one diplomat told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone here Thursday [2 February].

The Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI had reported that Pyongyang recalled Ambassador Kim Kwang-Sop because Czechoslovakia was seeking to establish a trade office in Seoul. Czechoslovak authorities, meanwhile, denied moves aimed at setting up a trade office in Seoul.

Pyongyang and Prague signed a 20-year friendship and cooperation treaty last September.

In December a Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "The purchase of consumer products or cars in South Korea—which is advantageous for Czechoslovakia as for other socialist countries—has nothing to do with diplomatic or trade relations" such as those between Budapest and Seoul. [passage omitted]

Poland's Jaruzelski Ends Short Working Visit

LD0102174289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR and chairman of the Polish State Council, ended a short friendly working visit to the CSSR and departed for his homeland.

CTK Notes Kulikov Replaced by General Lushev

LD0202211989 Prague CTK in English
1955 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 2 (CTK)—The governments of the Warsaw Treaty member states have granted the request of Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov for release from the function of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces in connection with his appointment [to] general inspector of the Group of General Inspectors of the Soviet Defence Ministry.

Marshal Kulikov was replaced by Soviet First Deputy Defence Minister Army General Petr Lushev, following an agreement of the Warsaw Treaty member states' governments.

Petr Lushev was born in 1923, he is Russian, member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1951. He was commanded Soviet forces of a number of military zones and also the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. In 1986 he was appointed first Soviet deputy defence minister. He is the [as received] Hero of the Soviet Union, deputy of the Supreme Soviet and member of the party Central Committee.

Editorial Views CSLA Arms, Troop Reductions

AU3101084889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Contribution to the Disarmament Process"]

[Text] Today we carry on our front page the official declaration on the reduction of the strength and armaments of the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) and on certain other organizational changes in the CSLA. Let us recapitulate the facts: 850 tanks, 165 armored personnel carriers, and 51 aircraft will be eliminated. The armaments of three all-purpose Army divisions will be transferred to warehouses and mothballed, the number of soldiers in combat units will be cut by 12,000, and 20,000 men will reinforce the Army's construction organizations.

These numbers speak for themselves; they are the first thing that attracts attention. However, the unilateral military measures taken by our state have a much broader, deeper significance. Above all else, they are steps undertaken in full harmony with the basic principle of our People's Army—its defensive nature.

The measures prove our goodwill and demonstrate our political decision to consider disarmament in Europe as the elementary principle of our foreign policy. We do not want to live in a Europe filled to the brim with arms arsenals—we do not see our own future life and the life of our partners and neighbors as taking place on a continent eternally divided by a line, by a kind of iron mound of tanks, guns, and aircraft produced for the eventuality of a military clash. Our idea of life is different; our program is not focused on war. We are in favor of a common European home, of coexistence in peace, of good-neighborly relations. We have learned from two wars, both of which were world wars and which broke out in Europe from the combustible materials ignited by world imperialism's lust for conquest, by its craving to order others about, to rule and instruct them.

European history bears witness to the erroneous belief that only those who are armed count for something in the concert of nations. The path toward grasping the fact that the safety of every state is safeguarded by political and not by military means has been a long one. But this has been grasped; this realization is growing, and the world public is beginning to realize more and more profoundly that the projects for mankind's future will be decided by the results achieved in exercising the human mind and human talent, and the ability to understand objective social laws, not by military force and the quantity and quantity of weapons. Yes, the decisive thing will be peaceful competition—the comparison of results achieved by this or that kind of society and its system. Only a century ago such thoughts were considered Utopian.

We are justly proud that the socialist states were the ones to push through the policy of peaceful coexistence in practical international relations, in close cooperation with realistic politicians from countries belonging to the other political system. Moreover, the socialist states have embodied the ideas of humanism and of the program of human civilization in practical measures and specific steps.

We are substituting deeds for words, because deeds possess the decisive moral force—they rouse and mobilize people. Let us stop haggling and endlessly arguing about who has more arms and who has less, and which army is stronger and which weaker—let us start acting, so that the decision of one can become an example and an appeal to others. Disarmament is not just a technical, military matter—it is primarily a political matter.

This idea was voiced by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, as early as February 1988, when he said that a political decision is essential, but that it nevertheless takes effect and makes an impact only if it is accompanied by a specific proposal, a specific measure. This is also the substance of setting up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Understandably, the first and foremost concern is preventing the possibility of an unexpected attack. We suggest that troops and formations possessing an offensive capability be withdrawn farther back from the joint borders. But we are also striving to achieve much more: mutually advantageous, useful cooperation in the economy and culture, in the solution of significant, burning problems, such as ecology.

The statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from the UN rostrum justly deserves to be called the "project of mankind's future," for the specific measures that it contains also express the thought that is part of the Czechoslovak initiative: that disarmament will not make progress as long as we do not demonstrate in practice that weapons can be scrapped.

The socialist states are offering the international community a new philosophy of coexistence, one from which the military element should be eliminated until it totally disappears. True, this will be a lengthy process, but it is an inevitable one, a process which cannot be postponed in the nuclear age.

Unilateral disarmament steps serve as a key to opening doors, as a healthy, stimulating impetus for serious talks which must necessarily lead to disarmament measures based on the principle of mutuality and equal security. Disarmament, both in Europe and throughout the world, must be understood as our common feat and our common interest.

Nevertheless, we are not succumbing to illusions. Our People's Army will continue to guard the safety of our fatherland as the apple of its eye, and to defend the safety of our people. We are a firm component of the socialist community. We can count things as well as the other side, and we realize what a powerful military force is facing us to the west of the Sumava Forests. The Czechoslovak Armed Forces are, as the military experts say, a front-line army; they defend not only our own border but are also a significant and irreplaceable part of the defense of the entire socialist community.

We do not conceal the fact that, just like our allies, we too must spend considerable financial means on maintaining the military equilibrium in Europe, which is part of the overall military-strategic equilibrium of the world. The financial means and resources squandered on arms could promote the upsurge of mankind and the advancement of man and his personality.

Any serious response or suggestion from the West which can contribute toward detente, toward eliminating the danger of a confrontation and frustrating the possibility of war breaking out, are welcome. What is more, we are waiting for this, striving for it, appealing for it. These are not empty words for us. We want to take the path of realism, of political dialogue, which is the source of mutually acceptable disarmament measures.

We are living in the center of Europe, in a territory over which many wars have rolled throughout history. Our call for peace, security, and disarmament is the outcome of our own painful, hurtful experience. That is why we are not passively watching the arsenals of conventional weapons accumulate in Europe—the destructive force of these systems approaches that of nuclear weapons—and that is also why we and our allies in the Warsaw Pact are adopting decisions that are our contribution to attaining a truly humanist ideal: disarmament.

Cultural Workers Call for Release of Protesters

AU0102[illegible]22889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 1 Feb

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Since the great wave of protests at the beginning of January and the forcible suppression by the police, discussions in Prague have not abated. Over the past few weeks, more than 700 leading cultural workers have signed a petition calling for the release of those arrested, epecially the release of author Vaclav Havel.

In addition, the signatories reject the media's way of reporting the alleged hooliganism of the demonstrators. They demand that the problems of the country be dealt with through discussion instead of repression.

The new thing about this campaign is that the signatories are not dissidents but rather important and renowned scientists and artists, such as director Jiri Mencl, who has received several awards for his work. [passage omitted]

The general perplexity of the government about the developments is exacerbated by the fact that Prague's Cardinal Tomasek has now also spoken out against police repression, and that he has done so at a moment when Prague is seeking better relations with the church. The authorities reacted in their way—Tomasek was criticized severely and, furthermore, the primate of Bohemia was pointedly not invited to a reception given by the minister of culture today. [passage omitted]

First Meeting Between Human Rights Organizations

AU0102155589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 89 p 2

["mb"-signed report: "First Contacts"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)—The first contacts between the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, which is based in Vienna, and the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation have taken place in Prague. G. Nagler, general secretary of the federation, and V. Flegl, secretary of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public, met on Sunday [29 January] and discussed the possibility of these two organizations cooperating. Their discussions affirmed the willingness to cooperate in the sphere of protecting human rights and on humanitarian issues.

Seminars Held for Regional Party Secretaries

AU0102175289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 89 p 2

["z"-signed report: "On Topical Issues of Party Policy"]

[Text] Prague—The first of five seminars for secretaries of party regional and district control and auditing commissions began in Prague on Monday [30 January] at the Advanced School of Politics attached to the CPCZ Central Committee. These seminars are connected with the courses for leading secretaries which were held at the end of last year.

The purpose of the seminars is to unify procedures in fulfilling the topical tasks of party policy in the current period with regard to issues connected with restructuring the economic mechanism, developing socialist democracy, improving the forms and methods of party work, and deepening the party's leading role in the given stage of society's development. The seminars will be addressed by leading functionaries of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and of state and economic bodies and institutions.

The first seminar of secretaries for party work in the agriculture and food complex was opened by Josef Mevald, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR.

Defense Minister Kessler Appears on FRG TV

LD0202113989 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Excerpt] In the words of Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister, all forces and types of conventional weapons must be taken into account at the coming disarmament talks in Vienna. Only then would results really be achieved, he said yesterday evening on FRG television. It is pleasing that the troop comparison put forward by the Warsaw Pact has been positively received. Kessler said he could vouch for the information. The Warsaw Pact has applied the same method of calculation to NATO's weapons as to its own. The GDR defense minister deemed it paradoxical to start to negotiate about conventional disarmament and at the same time to be busy modernizing this or that weapons system. [passage omitted]

Daily Comments on Vienna CSCE Conference

AU2001180289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Jan 89 p 2

[Klaus Wilczynski commentary: "Vienna Has Set the Course for European Detente"]

[Text] The Vienna CSCE meeting entered its final stage yesterday. The foreign ministers of all 35 participating states from Europe and North America will take the floor to pay tribute to the final document which has been submitted. It took more than 2 years to formulate it and to reach a consensus and to get the agreement of all parties involved.

This is a long time, and a faster conclusion would have been certainly possible if some of the NATO states had adopted a more constructive attitude from the start. However, after all, the final result is decisive. And this is good. Good for each of the 35 countries, good for the common European home. The Warsaw Pact, as well as NATO, talk of an historical document. It continues the process of European security formulated in the famous green book in Helsinki.

Even in 1975 in the Finlandia Hall, all regarded the CSCE summit not as the end, but as the beginning of cooperation that is constantly being advanced and developed, the reduction of confrontations, and the development of peaceful coexistence. Vienna, already the third Helsinki follow-up meeting, proves once again the viability of the European security process. Now this meeting has benefited from the perceptible detente in the international situation, the decisive basis for which was established by Helsinki.

Of course, the Vienna final document is the result of compromises. Otherwise, no consensus can be reached between different social systems. In these compromises, nobody has had to give up principles and, from this point of view, everybody has given priority to the most important common concern—further strengthening peace.

Again, in addition to the socialist countries, the nonaligned and neutral states have contributed to balancing the interests. In a progressive way, the Vienna document equally comes up to all three Helsinki baskets, the questions of security in Europe, economic cooperation, and cooperation in the humanitarian sector.

Above all, a new stage in the fields of confidence-building measures and conventional disarmament has been initiated in Vienna. The socialist states have attached the greatest importance to this specific aspect of the European process. The USSR's comprehensive disarmament concept, its unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments, has created good prerequisites for further steps. The adoption of a mandate for negotiations between the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is connected with the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting.

As early as in March, this new disarmament forum is to start its work. It will deal with establishing a stable and safe balance of conventional forces on a low level. Imbalances impairing stability and security, just like the capability of surprise attacks, are to be eliminated.

The socialist states will enter into these negotiations with a willingness to achieve the objective, an agreement on a real reduction of the level of military potentials, as fast as possible. Completely in accordance with their policy of peace and cooperation, they will implement the resolutions developed in Vienna. Thus, they consistently follow the principles of Helsinki, their basic stipulations of national sovereignty, independence, noninterference, territorial integrity, and the inviolability of borders.

Nobody is entitled to pose as the guardian of other states. On the contrary: In Helsinki, by their signatures, all 35 participants committed themselves to refrain from this. For history has taught us that all interference in the affairs of others has always been detrimental to peace. More peace has been the objective in Vienna. And this is also the gratifying result.

More peace, more cooperation, more human contacts, hopefully also fewer weapons—of course, all this does not mean that ideological confrontation between opposed social systems will stop. This will now be shown by the foreign ministers' speeches in Vienna.

CSSR's Fojtik Makes Official Working Visit

Talks Scheduled

LD0102212789 Prague CTK in English 1717 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin Feb 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik arrived for a three-day working visit to the German Democratic Republic today.

The Czechoslovak official is to hold talks with GDR party and state representatives on the deepening of cooperation between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in ideology and education.

Fojtik-Hager Meeting Reported

LD0202234889 Prague CTK in English 2008 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin Feb 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Secretary Jan Fojtik held talks with Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Politburo member and Secretary Kurt Hager on the second day of his visit to the German Democratic Republic today.

They voiced the hope that the latest unilateral measures of the socialist countries will give a new impulse to the disarmament process in Europe.

Jan Fojtik also met with teachers, scientific workers and students of Karl Marx college of the SED Central Committee. In his address he spoke in detail about the conclusion of the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress and the present development in Czechoslovakia. He stressed the importance of the 7th session of the party Central Committee which elaborated the congress strategy of accelerating socio-economic development and adopting measures for the restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization of the political system. The basic impulse for the drafting of the program of restructuring was brought by the new line of Soviet Communists, Jan Fojtik said and noted that the course of the individual countries in restructuring is determined by their specific conditions and peculiarities. Socialism is the undoubtful priority for us. The nations of both our countries link their future with it, Jan Fojtik stated.

He also met today with minister of higher education and vocational training Hans-Joachim Boehm.

Kleiber, Schuerer Talk With CSSR Counterpart

AU0102152089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Bohumil Urban, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and chairman of the CSSR side of the Joint CSSR-GDR Economic Committee, for a talk in Berlin on Monday [30 January].

During the friendly meeting, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the fact that relations between the two states are developing successfully in all spheres of social life. On the basis of the agreement concluded in March 1988 between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and CSSR through the year 2000 is being purposefully implemented. The politicians concurred that the two countries are successfully and efficiently using cooperation for the further acceleration of scientific-technological progress and for the process of intensifying the national economy.

The current working meetings of the chairmen of the central planning organs and the chairmen of the two sides of the Joint Economic Committee are intended to decide further steps to ensure a high level of stability and efficiency in the further shaping of economic relations between the GDR and CSSR.

During the talk, Guenther Kleiber and Bohumil Urban exchanged views on the beginning of the drafting of the 5-year plans for the development of the national economies for the 1991-95 period and discussed approaches to the coordination of the plans for this period.

Guenther Kleiber reported on the decisions of the seventh Central Committee session, aimed at the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and the preparation of the 12th SED Congress. He particularly stressed the growing role of science and technology for the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy in the GDR.

Bohumil Urban spoke about experiences in perfecting the management and planning of the national economy in the CSSR and the activities in preparation of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

The two sides assessed the initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, CSSR, and other fraternal socialist countries to unilaterally reduce armaments and the armed forces, as well as the most recent statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee as further steps designed to promote the process of disarmament and detente, and to strengthen international security.

The talk was attended by Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

The same day, Gerhard Schuerer and Bohumil Urban discussed measures to coordinate the plans for the 1991-95 period, with special emphasis on steps to further deepen the division of labor in the decisive branches of the two countries' national economies. In this, they started from the increasing challenges in mastering the key technologies and the tasks of the current phase of socialist construction, as well as from the new, emerging economic conditions.

CPCZ Study Delegation Arrives, To Hold Talks

AU3101134589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [27 January] Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a CPCZ delegation headed by Rudolf Hegenbart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and director of the state administration department of the Central Committee. The CSSR guests are in the GDR for an exchange of experiences on questions of party work in the GDR state organs and security forces.

The interlocutors stressed the high level of fraternal cooperation of the SED and the CPCZ, which is developing on the basis of the agreements between the general secretaries of the two parties, Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes, in the spirit of socialist internationalism. They stressed that the mutual exchange of experiences and the varied direct cooperation are contributing to the further strengthening of socialism in the GDR and the CSSR.

Egon Krenz reported on the decisions of the seventh SED Central Committee session for the preparation of the 12th SED Congress. He explained how the socialist state power is being strengthened and socialist democracy is further expanded under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The democratic participation of all classes and strata has its firm basis in the decade-long, tested alliances of the SED with the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front.

Rudolf Hegenbart discussed experiences of his party in the building of socialism in the CSSR and the various initiatives of the CSSR Communists in close cooperation with all working people to prepare the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Wolfgang Herger, director of the security department and member of the SED Central Committee, participated in the talk. Also present was Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

Financial Protocol Signed With CSSR

AU0202093889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jan 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] The CSSR and GDR ministers of finance signed in Berlin [date not given] a CSSR-GDR Government protocol on a change in the conversion coefficient to convertible rubles in noncommercial payments. The document provides for the exchange of financial means in national currencies at the level approximately equal to that of last year.

Schabowski Receives Budapest MSZMP Delegation

AU3101103989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 89 p 8

[Excerpt] A delegation of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, headed by Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee and member of the MSZMP Central Committee, arrived in Berlin on Wednesday [25 January] at the invitation of the Berlin sed bezirk leadership.

During a meeting with Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin SED bezirk leadership, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, the two sides stressed that the visit by the guests from Budapest serves the further strengthening of cooperation and the intensive exchange of experiences between the two parties and countries, as agreed during the meeting between Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz in September last year. Guenter Schabowski briefed the Hungarian visitors on the activities of the communists and all working people in Berlin that result from the evaluation of the Seventh Central Committee session and which are aimed at the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress for the well-being of the people. The benefits from the unity of economic and social policy which can be felt by all citizen in everyday life arouses their interest and leads to their commitment to helping shape the developed socialist society under the specific conditions of the GDR. The conscious contribution of the working people to improving the the quality of their lives is the yardstick for a living and efficient socialist democracy, Schabowski pointed out. [passage omitted]

MSZMP Delegation Seen Off

AU3101114089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Jan 89 p 8

[Text] The delegation of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, headed by Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest Committee, concluded its visit to Berlin on Friday [27 January]. The visitors were seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport by Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin bezirk leadership. Members of the bezirk leadership and the Hungarian ambassador to the GDR, Erno Lakatos, were also present.

During the past few days, the visitors had familiarized themselves with the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, particularly with the solution of local policy issues in the capital city. On Friday afternoon they were briefed on the realization of the housing program and the methods that are applied in this connection, as well as on the principles of Berlin's housing policy.

Loeffler Completes Visit, Talks in Israel

LD0302053189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1826 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Jerusalem (ADN)—Kurt Loeffler, GDR state secretary for church affairs, ended his 5-day visit to Israel on Thursday. He was invited by the state research and memorial site Yad Vashem in West Jerusalem and by the World Jewish Congress. During his stay he had talks with the Minister of Religious Affairs Zvulun Hammer, Yad Vashem Chairman Dr Yitzhak Arad, and other public figures.

Secretary of State Loeffler outlined the GDR's active policy of peace and dialogue, which is aimed at disarmament and detente, as it became clear again with the latest unilateral disarmament steps which were taken without conditions. He pointed out in particular that the GDR supports a comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions and the right to life of all peoples in secure borders and in their own state. An international peace conference under U.N. auspices, which should be attended by all interested parties, including the PLO and in their own state. An international peace conference under U.N. auspices, which should be attended by all interested parties, including the PLO and Israel and the five permanent UN Security Council members, is seen as a suitable means of achieving this.

He stated in this connection that the PLO's latest peace initiative, which meets with the GDR's support, could promote the introduction of dialogue between the PLO and Israel.

State Secretary Loeffler explained the fulfilled obligation based on the indestructible anti-fascist foundations of the GDR, to root out fascism and its demon forever. The Israeli side noted with satisfaction that the GDR devotes great attention to cultivating the Jewish cultural heritage in this spirit and declared its interst in the social development of the GDR and in continuing the contacts, which had been established during the events to mark the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night. The two sides underlined their plans for further cooperation between GDR memorials and archives and Yad Vashem in researching the fascist crimes against the Jews.

Honecker Receives Letter From Yasir 'Arafat

LD0202165189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a letter to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman, briefed him on the escalation of the situation in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel.

He pointed out the dangerous escalation of tensions as a result of the measures taken by Israeli occupying forces putting down the popular uprising. This policy has only strengthened the resolve of the Palestinian people to resist the occupation.

Pointing to the PLO's peace initiative Yasir 'Arafat stressed the desire of the Palestinian people for a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The UN Security Council should examine means and possibilities for bringing about the peace longed for in an open dialogue, in particular the calling of a preparatory committee for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Yair 'Arafat stressed that the Palestinian people greatly appreciated the efforts by the socialist countries to secure world peace through the policy of international detente, understanding and disarmament. The hope was linked to this that this positive international climate would have a favourable and constructive effect on peace efforts in the Middle East.

Yasir 'Arafat expressed his gratitude for an appreciation of the firm attitude by the GDR on the side of the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Honecker Receives New FRG Ambassador

LD0202135289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 2 feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, today received Dr Franz Bertele, the head of the FRG's permanent mission, to receive his letter of accreditation.

During the course of the talks, Erich Honecker pointed out that the relationship between the two German states is a significant factor for peace, security, and stability in Europe. If they resolutely support the continuation of the disarmament process, it will correspond to their obligation to peace. This is also true for disarmament in the conventional area for which the GDR is making significant prior concessions. He stressed that there has been progress in relations since his official visit to the FRG in September 1987. There could be further progress if there was noninterference and respect for mutual interests.

Erich Honecker wished Dr Bertele much success in his job in the GDR and reciprocated the greetings conveyed to him from FRG Federal President Dr Richard von Weizsaecker and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Honecker Mistakes FRG Officials During Dinner

AU0202100389 Hamburg DIE WELT In German 2 Feb 89 p 1

["DW" report: "Honecker Mistook Gaus for Kiel Minister"]

[Text] SED leader Erich Honecker caused some confusion during a dinner given in honor of Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Bjoern Engholm at the Unter den Linden Palace in East Berlin: He mistook Guenter Gaus, who was the first permanent representative of the FRG in West Berlin and is today advisor of the Kiel government head on East-West affairs, for a member of the Schleswig -Holstein Diet. Honecker has apparently been mistaking persons on various occasions recently: The 76-year-old SED leader addressed the minister in the Chancellor's Office, Schaeuble, as "Mr Chancellor" several times last year. It also happens frequently that the SED leader stops in the middle of a sentence. This has been interpreted as a clear sign of Honecker's deteriorating health by Western Intelligence services. Only recently the SED leader stopped in the middle of a sentence during a public speech.

Daily Views West Berlin Election Results

AU0102145589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "A Critical Development"]

[Text] The elections that were held in West Berlin on Sunday [29 January] ended with an extraordinarily serious result: Neofascists will have seats in the city's Chamber of Deputies and nearly all district assemblies for the first time.

What kind of party is this? It is advocating an extremely nationalist, racist, and antiforeign policy. It is led by the former Waffen SS member Franz Schoenhuber from Bavaria, who later worked for the Bavarian radio and has documented his fascist attitude in several books. The party was founded in 1983 by two Bundestag deputies who abandoned the CDU for this purpose. There are former CDU/CSU members both among the 6,800 members and the candidates for the Chamber of Deputies and district assemblies. The neo-Nazi party includes a striking number of local government employees, particularly police officers. By the way, the occupying powers and the CDU, SPD, and FDP consented to the admission of the party.

Why did such a neofascist party succeed in capturing 90,000 votes? This was achieved by the "Republicans" through chauvinist and social demogogism. The party also profited from the attitude of the Senate and a considerable part of the mass media. The neofascists took advantage of the dismantling of the welfare state by the Senate, including the antisocial housing policy that served the interests of the house owners, and, on the model of Hitler's party, promised the dissatisfied what they wanted to hear, and channeled their anger in an ultra rightist, neo-Nazi direction.

The "Republicans" openly took up the Nazi practices of Jew-baiting and of their hatred of other peoples. Schoehuber threatened the chairman of the Jewish community during an election rally in an equivocal manner: "If Mr Galinski continues like this, anti-Semitism, which has been fought for a long time, will resurface." The "Republicans" are resorting to all kinds of devices to fan the hatred against foreign citizens who now account for 14 percent of the population, and who were called to West Berlin by firms as cheap labor that would increase their profits.

To do justice to the antifascist forces in the city, it must be pointed out that they warned of the neofascist danger, against the Nazis and their propaganda, at numerous rallies and demonstrations. However, the state organs and the police in particular always protected the neo-Nazis and bludgeoned the antifascists. This is not surprising if one bears in mind who the majority of the "republicans" are. Of course, neo-Nazis are not affected by the job denial practices in the public sector, even if the "Radicals Decree" would have to be applied in their case.

The presence of neofascists in the Chamber of Deputies is not a problem that concerns only West Berlin. The possibility that fascism could again become acceptable at the center of the continent 50 years after the start of World War II, that an unforseeable development might be initiated and a dangerous hotbed of conflict might be created must be regarded as a critical matter by the whole of Europe and particularly by the powers who are responsible for developments there.

FDJ's Aurich Meets West Berlin's ADS Chairman

AU0102140689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Tobias Oswald, newly elected chairman of the Berlin (West) Action Group of Democrats and Socialists (ADS), met for a talk in Berlin on Monday [30 January]. The interlocutors welcomed the decision of the GDR National Defense Council to unilaterally reduce the forces and means of the National People's Army. FDJ and ADS expect NATO to react constructively to the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states.

Tobias Oswald reported on the student campaigns and strikes at the West Berlin universities. He assessed the emergency situation that has arisen at the universities as the result of a reactionary policy in the interest of profitmaking, for which the bill was presented to the CDU/FDP Senat at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies.

Philosophy Journal on Need for Restructuring

AU0102083789 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 30 Jan 89 p 2

[DDP report: "GDR Paper Shows Sympathy for Gorbachev's Course"]

[Text] Berlin—The East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE [German philosophy journal] has expressed cautious sympathy for Soviet party leader Gorbachev's reform course. The revolutionary further development of socialism has to be "implemented anew every day" because there is "also the opposite possibility of deformation, stagnation, and social crisis." This is confirmed by the Soviet party's course which aims at "qualitatively restructuring all aspects of social life and accelerating economic development."

DPRK Note on Downgrading of Ties Cited

LD0202163389 Budapest MTI in English
1558 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Pyongyang, Tokyo, February 2 (MTI)—The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea decided to reduce its diplomatic representation in Hungary to the level of charge d'affaires, and to recall its ambassador. Simultaneously, it called on Hungary to recall its ambassador from Pyongyang. The relevant note of the DPRK's Foreign Ministry has been forwarded to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was reported by KCNA news agency on Thursday [2 February].

The note states that the move is connected with the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Republic of Korea. "It was a highly discomforting news that Hungary, disregarding our advice, has taken this step," runs the note, which then casts responsibility on Hungary "for the grave consequences the step entails in the traditionally friendly relations between Hungary and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

Gyula Horn on DPRK Reaction

LD0202203689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] Hungary and South Korea, or rather the Republic of Korea, established full diplomatic relations yesterday. We reported on this. This afternoon we received the statement from the North Korean news agency, that in reply to the establishment of contacts between Hungary and South Korea the DPRK Government is downgrading its diplomatic relations with Hungary from the ambassadorial level to that of charge d'affaires. It recalled its ambassador in Budapest and called on Hungary to do the same. In other words, Mihaly Kornidesz, Hungarian ambassador to Pyongyang and former chairman of Hungarian television, must return home. Prior to the measures taken by North Korea, Endre Aczel asked Gyula Horn, state secretary for the Foreign Ministry, and who has just returned from Seoul, about the background to these relations.

[Begin recording] [Aczel] The step whose preparations have been under way for quite some time really has been taken now. Do you know whether the DPRK has reacted to this?

[Horn] Well, it is well known that (?before this) they protested in a rather rude, sharp manner which was an offensive act of interference in our internal affairs, because establishing relations was based on a sovereign decision.

Ever since we began political contacts—which means since last summer in practice—I have not heard anything bad from any South Korean partner about the DPRK, Pyongyang, or any kind of encouragement concerning the building of our relationship with the South and, in return, weakening our link with Pyongyang. This issue was never raised. On the contrary, what they have been emphasizing throughout was that this joint step of ours might contribute to a reconciliation on the Korean peninsula, to a calming down, and that it really could provide an impetus to the entire affair.

[Aczel] If I am correctly informed, the first steps have taken place between the two Koreas as well. After all, it is precisely at this point that economic negotiations are taking place, or have taken place—albeit on an enterprise instead of a government level. Still, something has happened. It is good to point out that while South Korea is opening its door to the socialist countries, it is simultaneously benefiting North Korea, whether the DPRK acknowledges this or denies it.

[Horn] This is precisely the case, in the economic sphere, too, for the DPRK's turnover is at least 8 to 10 times greater than ours, insofar as trade with South Korea is concerned. Meanwhile, preparations for the prime ministerial meeting planned for March have begun. I would like to add something else: an agreement of principle, an approximate agreement of principle, exists and in light of the Seoul Olympics, it is an important element—that is, they will send a joint team to the Asian games in Beijing. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the interview it was also mentioned that the South Korean president is expected to visit Hungary this year, and there was a discussion on cooperation in the Hungarian-South Korean auto industry and many other issues.

Horn Terms Step 'Regrettable'

LD0302112189 Budapest MTI in English
1022 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 3 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian state secretary of foreign affairs, termed the DPR [Democratic People's Republic of] Korean decision to reduce its diplomatic relations with Hungary to charge d'affaires level as 'regrettable'. The state secretary spoke to "NEPSZABADSAG" after returning to Hungary on Thursday [2 February], and the interview is carried by the Friday issue. Some of the points Mr Horn made were:

'Full diplomatic relations with South Korea are in no way directed against the DPRK. Since 1945, we have expressed solidarity with that country on a high level, not only in words, but through actions as well, and both in bilateral frames and in international forums. In September, 1988, after we had already started to establish relations with South Korea, we were co-authors of a proposal in the United Nations, demanding an end to discrimination against the DPRK and that the Korea issue be settled in a peaceful way. We have not made any step that would have hurt in the slightest the interests of international aspirations of the DPRK, including its goals related to the peaceful re-unification of the two Koreas. This is why we regard the DPR Korean reaction as regrettable.'

Lushev Appointment as Warsaw Pact Chief Noted

LD0202212289 Budapest MTI in English 1953 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—Governments of the Warsaw Treaty member states have met the request of Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union and commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, to relieve him of his post as commander-in-chief in view of his appointment by the minister of defence of the Soviet Union to head of the General Inspectorate Group of the Ministry of Defence. At the same time, the governments expressed their appreciation to Viktor Kulikov for his activity in developing relations between the fraternal armies.

At the same time, on the basis of coordination with the governments of the Warsaw Treaty member states, Army General Petr Lushev, first deputy of the minister of defence of the Soviet Union, was appointed commander-in-chief of the united armed forces.

Defense Minister Details Soviet Troop Pullout

AU0202122189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati by correspondent "Gy.K.": "The Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Will Start Even in the 1st Half of This Year"; date, place not given]

[Text] At the UN session in December, Mikhail Gorbachev made an announcement of great importance concerning the unilateral Soviet troop reductions. From the Soviet general secretary's speech we learned that this reduction also affects the Group of Soviet Southern Forces that is temporarily stationed in our country. More than a month has passed since this announcement was made, and today we know about the composition of the Soviet troops and the planned schedule for their withdrawal from our country. We asked Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati some questions on this subject:

[Question] Recently, party General Secretary Karoly Grosz and yourself made several statements on the troop withdrawal. Nevertheless, in these statements you have not mentioned a detailed schedule for this withdrawal. Can you give us any new information on this subject?

[Karpati] A few days ago I received a letter from Army General Dimitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister. In this letter I, and through me the Hungarian leadership, was officially informed about the configuration and the schedule for the withdrawal of the troops that will be withdrawn from Hungary. At the end of his letter, the general informed me that the information he had given me could be used to inform the public. I believe that today people in Hungary are interested in this subject, and therefore I think it is necessary to publish this information as quickly as possible.

[Question] Does this mean that the letter contains a detailed description of the schedule?

[Karpati] Yes. The Soviet minister has informed me that even in the 1st half of this year the tank divisions deployed in Veszprem and the surrounding area will be withdrawn and, also in the 1st half of this year, an armored training regiment will be withdrawn. At the end of this year, a paratroop battalion and the interceptor squadron based at Tokol airport will also leave our country.

[Question] Does this mean that the announced reduction will be concluded this year?

[Karpati] The major part of it yes, because next year, the withdrawal of another chemical defense battalion as well as the Group of Southern Forces' noncommissioned officers school in Szolnok will conclude the reduction of troops in Hungary that General Secretary Gorbachev announced.

[Question] Do we know the number of troops that will be withdrawn?

[Karpati] The letter I received from the minister of defense does not contain any reference to the number of troops, but certainly, during the preliminary talks, this subject was also approached. Still, I believe that, in connection with the troop reduction that is soon to begin, it is not the number but rather the strength of the respective military branch that is important, as well as the fire- and offensive power of the aforementioned configuration and their military equipment—tanks, airplanes, and other equipment.

[Question] It is understandable that the public is interested in the future of the establishments evacuated by the Soviets. Are there any specific agreements on this issue?

[Karpati] We believe that the most important thing is to observe the schedule for the withdrawal. Talks between the two headquarters about the future of the establishments are still under way. Nevertheless, it has already been decided that the historic building near the Esztergom Basilica, which at the moment functions as a health-care institution for Soviet troops, will be evacuated permanently. And, a more important issue than the future of the establishments is the fact that the subject of previous justified complaints from citizens in Veszprem and Tokol will cease to exist, because in both places the environment will become quieter and the level of noise that has been criticized will be reduced. At the same time, we know that the troops who continue to remain in our country will be reorganized, with various units from the western parts of the country being reorganized first of all.

[Question] Will the reduction of the Soviet troops in Hungary not increase the burden on the Hungarian Armed Forces?

[Karpati] No, because the Soviets would not reduce their troops if the international situation did not make it possible for them to do so. If it does so, then there is no justification for us to increase them with Hungarian forces and at a cost to Hungary.

Matyas Szuros Discusses Foreign Policy Issues

LD3101124289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Interview with Matyas Szuros, MSZMP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, by unidentified correspondents and telephone listeners, on the "Radio Diary" program in the studio in Budapest; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Your role has somewhat changed recently because, as the Central Committee resolution anounced, the secretary responsible for international affairs today, first of all, deals with the MSZMP's international relations.

[Szuros] Yes, the reform of the system of political institutions is under way, and certain organizational changes have already occurred. Among other things, the party's direct guidance of the Foreign Ministry was eliminated, and the ministry's independence, responsibility, and coordinating role has grown. [passage omitted]

The question of operative direction is, of course, quite a different matter. As I said, we separate the tasks and scopes of authority of the party and the state. Caring for the party relationships naturally is an important part of foreign policy. Much can be derived from them: the assertion of Hungarian interests and international unity in the interest of cooperation. Greater attention will now be paid to building party relationships.

I think that the new organizational structure can be successful if it can rescue the values, expertise, commitment, and experience that were in recent years proven by Hungarian foreign policy with practical results.

To return to the question, I again emphasize that organizational modifications will be made. The substantive foreign policy elements did not change and do not change, and my personal assignment invariably includes controlling and directing international relationships. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Several well-known politicians said recently that the cold war is over. Do you agree?

[Szuros] Yes, I agree. What is more, a number of important events in the recent past indicate that a new period of a relaxation [of tensions] is unfolding. In other words, the imminent danger of nuclear war has ceased, and this is an extraordinarily important change.

The most important fact in connection with this is the treaty on the elimination of medium- and intermediate-range missiles. This is a turning point in the reduction of the spiral of nuclear weapons. The first concrete step in nuclear disarmament has been taken. Furthermore, the question of conventional arms and armed forces, primarily in Europe, gained a new dimension. The unilateral step of the Soviet Union also affects Hungary. At the Vienna follow-up meeting the mandate concerning the talks to be carried out on reducing conventional forces in Europe was established. These talks are expected to continue in March, and Hungary can take part in them as a full- fledged participant. It is common knowledge that Hungary participated in the central European talks on reducing armed forces and armaments only with the rights of consultation.

A recent event that we found hopeful was the conference on eliminating chemical weapons, which was held in Paris with the participation of 149 countries. Positive moves have been made in the interest of reaching a political settlement of regional crises in Afghanistan, southern Africa, the Middle East, Cambodia, Iraq and Iran, etc.

What made all this possible? Above all, a new mentality that is strengthening mutual trust is gaining ground on both sides. Political, economic, and human factors are beginning to prevail against military considerations. Talks are becoming accepted by an ever-widening circle as the sole expedient means of relieving tensions.

We are realizing that we have mutual values that are independent of differing ideologies, on which the community of interests is built.

In the future it will be possible to create a wide system of cooperation in which we can find joint answers to global challenges and regional problems. If we succeed in achieving this, then detente will become a fulfilled process. The Soviet Union plays an outstandingly important role in this process. With its renewed politics it became a stimulating factor in the world. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You lined up several factors here to prove that it really seems that the cold war has ended. One of these was the destruction last year of nuclear weapons, the first in history. Do you think that this process will continue or, in other words, can the club of eliminators expand?

[Szuros] I think yes, but only in the long term. The Soviet-U.S. talks on the 50-percent reduction in strategic missiles are continuing. The talks are surrounded by a certain amount of secrecy, but it is known that they are progressing, though pretty slowly. If this agreement comes about, despite all its significance, it has to be said that it will not be enough. It is not enough. It might sound peculiar but, after all, it is all the same whether the arsenal of the two nuclear world powers is capable of wiping out humanity 10 times or only 5 times over. This is why it is important that nuclear test explosions be banned or at least considerably limited. This would also strongly influence arms development and modernization. As for the expansion of the eliminators club, in my opinion, for the time being we can not expect this from the other nuclear powers, especially Great Britain and France. They refer to the Soviet Union and the United States. They say that they will reduce when those two have duly advanced in this respect. The complete elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles is important because of its exemplary value; it has great political significance. We are talking about really modern weapons.

An asymmetrical liquidation has occurred because the Soviet Union eliminated more missiles, but it did receive something in return. The U.S. missiles would have been able to reach the Soviet Union, but not the reverse. An effective control mechanism has been established, and this is very important because it caused a lot of argument. The political will has been asserted. These results could not have been achieved from only a military point of view. With this elimination, a chain reaction has been broken that, in the event of an armed European conflict, would have inevitably led the world powers into nuclear war.

[Correspondent] But in light of all this, it is all very important, but not enough, as Comrade Szuros said. But what does unilateral Soviet disarmament mean—I refer to the withdrawal of 500,000 soldiers and some 10,000 tanks? What does this mean for the West, and what does it mean for us?

[Szuros] The unilateral Soviet disarmament step expresses first of all an important and forward-pointing political will. It reflects the USSR's feeling of responsibility—its responsibility toward the fate of humanity and the world and, of course, toward the Soviet people. It is also advantageous for the Soviet Union, for its aim, among other things, is to gradually change from an arms economy to a disarmament economy.

Besides this, it concretely concerns the fact that the Soviet Union, with its unilateral disarmament measures, has eliminated a significant part of the disproportion and asymmetry existing between the forces and arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Probably not all of it, but a significant part of it, and this is also facilitated by the unilateral steps of the other socialist countries. This, essentially, can be fit into the three-stage proposal earlier submitted by the Soviet Union.

[Correspondent] Much is said nowadays about the change in the image of the enemy, together with the improvement in the international political situation. The expression is somehow so official, yet it is an entirely everyday matter.

[Second correspondent] For example, 17 years ago, when I was a soldier and we were on drill on the Alfold, they scared us with Austrian antitank grenades and Italian mountain infantry. Of course, I have to say that even then, we did not take this very seriously. [passage omitted]

[Szuros] I am of the opinion that this enemy-image based on total confrontation undoubtedly has affected everyday awareness, everyday practice, but it is precisely in everyday matters, in practice, that its contradictoriness and untenability first appeared. The mutual suspicion and distrust that the wolf-like enemy image entailed, was at variance with the requirements, and for the most part, everyday experiences. For example, they were at variance with the experiences that the small- and medium-sized European countries, including Hungary, availed themselves of relatively early on, in the course of cooperation with one another. They were at variance with the knowledge and experiences that citizens gained in one another's countries. However, the enemy-image pointed beyond the level of everyday awareness and thought, and nourished itself from an effort for ideological wrath. That is why it proved to be so enduring. [passage omitted]

I believe that a policy is good if it gives a satisfactory answer to the changes in the world, for only in that case is it able to genuinely influence events. Soviet policy has recognized that in the future it will not succeed in the old manner. The period of stagnation caused the country enormous damage. We reply to the internationalization, to the interdependence of the countries, to the strengthenig of mutual dependence, by our turning in on ourselves, or we turn to the outside. Our policy is to turn to the outside. A boycott policy cannot be successful; turning inward cannot be a solution. By the way, neither can the United States make itself independent from the world, especially from the Soviet Union. Even the U.S. economy cannot bear the burden of the current pace of armaments. For this reason, I think that the objective conditions for a lasting change now exist, and that this is now the policy that has the decisive word, as do the outstanding statesmen, concerning the extent to which they are able to make use of the opportunities.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] There still are too many crisis spots in the world.

[Szuros] Yes, I agree with what you said in your question; there are too many crisis spots. Even one would be too many, for they claim sacrifices, in terms of human lives and property. However, it can be viewed as a favorable phenomenon that their number, fortunately, has not increased. Indeed, their elimination has begun.

In looking at the problem generally, I believe that there are three conditions for a settlement of crisis-nexuses. First, the withdrawal of foreign armed forces; second, the constructive dialogue and collaboration of the world powers for a solution; and third, the involvement of all concerned parties.

It is generally known that the troop withdrawals from Afghanistan and Angola have begun. This is now within reach for Cambodia. There is a cease-fire in effect between Iran and Iraq. A genuine dialogue on the crisis-nexuses is underway between the world powers, between the Soviet Union and the United States and other powers, in the interest of seeking compromises. This is very important.

The greatest difficulties emerge when all concerned parties are involved. It is more difficult to bridge over tribal, national, and sometimes personal conflicts that have lasted for decades, often centuries, and also in the case of different political platforms. Overall I am optimistic, although overly quick results should not be expected. I consider the great powers' interest in this—the elimination of the crisis-nexuses that have a negative impact on these, and the opportunities to resolve global problems—to be real.

The true national interests of the peoples of the countries affected scarcely wish for anything other than a peaceful solution, and that is why the problems and tasks of reconciliation have come onto the agenda.

[Correspondent] It appeared for a minute last week that a Middle East settlement was relatively close, because this was reported by British television, which referred to several sources, while it was denied in both Washington and Moscow. In the final analysis, do you think there is a chance for a Middle East settlement in the near future?

[Szuros] As for that report, I have no exact knowledge of it, and as for the Middle East, the chances for a Middle East conference, in my view, have increased, and there really is a Soviet-U.S. dialogue on this. Thus, conditions have improved. This is not only because of the Soviet-U.S. consultations but also because, for example, a dialogue has begun between the United States and PLO representatives. Thus, I believe that favorable processes have begun here, but that would require a separate lecture.

I want to say that, naturally, we have an interest in the Middle East situation.

[Correspondent] Do we not have anything to settle in the Middle East?

[Szuros] Hungarian foreign policy has to restore a balance in the Middle East, in the sense that alongside the Arab countries, we have to again settle relations with Israel. This has begun. It is generally known that we have established interest representations, but beyond this, I believe that conditions are quickly ripening for restoring diplomatic relations. I think that in a matter of months the conditions for this will finally be created.

[Correspondent] There is also a crisis in Afghanistan, and this is not just any kind of crisis. [passage omitted] Do you believe that the date of 15 February for the Soviet troop withdrawal can be kept, for there are only 2 weeks remaining?

[Second correspondent] And what will happen when they withdraw? [passage omitted]

[Szuros] I very much agree with the Soviet Union's resolute intention to withdraw from Afghanistan. Earlier we talked about their entry having been debatable, but we have not dealt with the withdrawal. We regret that innocent people are dying, but, otherwise, the stake is large. I trust that the Soviet Union will remain consistent in its policy, and every sign points to its withdrawing its last soldier from Afghanistan by 15 February. That is important. As to what will happen afterwards, I believe that this depends on the Afghans, and on whether Pakistan's role changes for the better. This can be expected. The United States must constructively help form a nonaligned, neutral, democratic regime in Afghanistan. Thus, I expect that here, in the final instance, a negotiation process will take shape between the national forces, along with the fighting.

On the other hand, our foreign minister has already announced that we are reducing the staff at our diplomatic representation, at our embassy, to a minimum, for quite a complex situation has evolved there. This does not violate our interests, and we have to guarantee the safety of our people.

[Correspondent] So far we have spoken about classic crisis zones. However, we can not disassociate ourselves from the opinions of many people who also view Eastern Europe as a crisis zone. [passage omitted] Might communism really be a Utopia, as the former first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee [Csaba Hamori] has said?

[Szuros] Please, socialism is really living through a time of crisis. In an international comparison, it is in the phase of path-seeking, of renewal. I must sincerely say that the previous socialist formation, which is usually called a Stalinist model—although that is not entirely accurate—has not proven effective. In the final analysis, it has ended up in crisis. But I agree with those who say that socialism can be reformed, that it can be renewed, if what we do is rooted in reality, if it is built on realities and not derived from dogmas.

In Hungary, we have to beat down a path, a democratic socialist path, which accords with our endowments and possibilities; in essence, this is what we are working on.

Now, as for Utopia. Csaba Hamori truly did say that the handling of communism, as a goal that is now on history's agenda, is Utopia.

By the way, the origin of socialist thought and ideals goes back centuries: It did not only emerge in the past century. They are fine, grand ideals of humanity, but it has to be admitted that so far little of them has been realized, as is generally the case concerning noble ideals and principles. [passage omitted]

However, I do not want to avoid the answer. Is communism a Utopia, as you asked? I believe that it is not at all a Utopia as a goal of action and a movement. It is another matter that there are many Utopian elements in our picture of the future regarding communism. It is true that we can only have an approximate idea of the distant future. Then, in the new situation, the ideas that were previously believed to be true often prove to be unusable. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] There are opinions and things that, with some exaggeration, could be called theories, according to which a kind of quiet revolution is taking place in the USSR, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. Of course, this cannot be generalized, because judging from the signs, never before have there been such differences between these countries and, generally, between countries that are generally said to have the same social system.

[Szuros] To be frank, I do not like the expression quiet revolution. I think that you put it in quotes, too. This is peculiar to me. Reforms are unfolding in the interest of changes necessary for renewal which, if fulfilled, could also be tantamount to a revolutionary transformation. However, we should still wait for such an evaluation. We are only at the beginning.

[Correspondent] Then, in the current situation, what adjective would you use?

[Szuros] I find the expressions path-seeking and renewal to be appropriate. These can be realized through reforms, and it is through reforms that we can escape the crisis situation.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] Listeners have asked whether it is conceivable that Solidarity might become a legal party in Poland. [passage omitted]

[Szuros] I have already said several times that I was very surprised by one of Andropov's statements. He was probably in the minority in his own Politburo with his belief, at the end of 1980, that the formation of a coalition government in Poland was unavoidable. That was then. As for what has emerged on questions of Solidarity and Walesa, in my opinion, it is matter now in Poland of constructive opposition and of a process of acknowledging this. An agreement could come about as a result of a roundtable discussion. I believe that Walesa's standpoint has changed favorably, as has Solidarity's. However, the standpoint of the PZPR—that is, the stand of General Secretary Jaruzelski—has also changed favorably in this regard, in the direction of unity. Of course, the situation is quite complex. More concretely, because it is a trade union, I would have difficulty in conceiving of Solidarity's transformation into a party, although it often behaves like one. I believe that this is not on the agenda, but I consider it important that a kind of forward-pointing process is unfolding in Poland. And we also try to borrow from the experience.

[Correspondent] Whether or not demonstrations or even the placing of a bouquet of flowers at a certain site are permitted varies greatly in these countries. What is your opinion?

[Szuros] I understand the question. I usually say that just like there are no two identical people, neither are there two identical countries. The differences are also understandable between the socialist countries from another point of view, as well, for the many shades of color can give rise to problems and differences. This is a process of growing up, of transformation. For example, they relate in different ways to perestroyka, to the realization of reforms. In one country they say that what they have done so far meets their requirements, while elsewhere, like in our own country, we are attempting to realize reforms at a forced pace. The essence, therefore, is that this is a process of growing up, of transformation, of renewal in the socialist countries. My opinion is that we must be acquainted with one another. To put it more clearly, we have to be even better acquainted with one another, and we have to learn from one another's experiences, and if possible, make use of them. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] A listener from Budapest asks, on behalf of several teachers: Considering that Matyas Szuros just said that in Hungary the party, the economy, and foreign policy are being separated from one another, why did Karoly Grosz attend the economic conference in Davos [Switzerland] when it is generally known that he is not an economist?

[Szuros] By the way, I have to say that generally outstanding and well-known figures are invited to the Davos economic conference. If I am correct, Karoly Grosz was invited last year, as premier.

[Correspondent] Another question from Kaposvar: It is now very much in fashion to mention the mistakes of the past. Will disadvantages arise in the international sphere for those persons, both in the former and the current generation, who are affected?

[Szuros] I think that if this is done in a civilized manner, in a European manner, with circumspection, and if it is done in accordance with reality, then no disadvantage can derive from this. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Tibor Rozsa, from Bolcs, telephone No 41-236, asks whether Hungary is planning to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican before the pope's visit. Connected to this is a question from an anonymous listener who asks about the progress of the preparations for the pope's visit to Hungary.

[Szuros] As for the first question, establishing diplomatic relations is not on the agenda. Naturally, it is not necessary to exclude this as a possibility. To my knowledge, it is not very likely to be realized [word indistinct] the pope's visit. As for preparations for the pope's visit, I can say that the invitation was sent to the pope in an appropriate manner and at an appropriate level. He has accepted it. The pace of preparations is adequate. According to signs, the visit could take place next year.

[Correspondent] We have received so many questions about Romania that it merits a special program. [passage omitted] The questions are quite general: whether we should fear an armed Romanian attack, and with regard to the insinuations at Arad, and to what you said publicly, that Ceausescu said right in front of you, at Arad, that they are able to produce a nuclear weapon.

[Szuros] That is a tough question. First, allow me to elaborate on the Romanian statement heard at the Arad meeting, because various versions of it exist. It was roughly heard there as: We do not, and do not wish, to manufacture nuclear weapons; however, we do possess the capability needed to do so. This, roughly, is what the general secretary said, or perhaps that is exactly how it was said.

I might add to the first part of the statement that, to put it mildly, it would have been strange to hear the opposite in Arad, for Romania has also joined the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which prohibits its signatories from manufacturing nuclear weapons and from threatening or blackmailing anyone with their use. Disregarding this ban would violate the rights of 100-odd countries and, in the broader sense, international security.

As for the capability required to produce nuclear weapons, something must be pointed out: the fact that a state that possesses nuclear power plants does not necessarily mean that it is also able to manufacture nuclear weapons. As for the latter, very serious and concentrated intellectual and industrial potential is necessary. It is a fact that in the world, apart from the nuclear powers, a good number of countries possess such a capability, and some of them even acknowledge this. It is not my intention to analyze Romania's production capability, nor would I be able to do so precisely; but to my knowledge I do not consider this possibility to be probable.

In connection with a possible Romanian armed attack, I would merely like to point out that in spite of the low point in the two countries' relations, the treaty on Hungarian-Romanian friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance remains in force, and that both countries are members of the Warsaw Pact, which also has a military aspect. Thus, again, treaties preclude the possibility or at least the legal nature of such an action.

For our part, we have resolutely stated our stand on this, according to which it is not tanks and military divisions with which we wish to politicize the acute issues of the Hungarian-Romanian relationship. We are far from such a thing.

At the same time, I would also like to emphasize that more than once signs of unpredictability have been observed in Romanian conduct, and that these sometimes lead, for their part, to the most absurd steps. Just think of the Gyorfi affair, the expulsion of our commercial counselor in Bucharest, on the basis of a brutal provocation. Or let us take a broader topic, one which touches on international connections: the issue of chemical weapons. Romania, at the January Paris conference, tried to assert its view that a ban on chemical weapons must be linked with an abolition of nuclear weapons. [passage omitted] As the Romanian head of state put it, they do not want to be thrown at the mercy of those with nuclear weapons. This approach suggests that the Romanian leadership views chemical weapons as the nuclear bomb of the poor. This naturally gives cause for anxiety and elicits incomprehension.

I emphasize that in shaping our policy, it is necessary to continue to proceed while also considering every point of view. We are persistently working on improving our relationship, in accordance with the general norms of civilization. At the same time, we seek to avoid being unprepared for any kind of surprise or Romanian measure, or perhaps a provocation.

[Correspondent] There are questions that do not show nuances. How far can this continue, because this dictatorship, properly speaking, is casting a cloud over the life of an entire generation?

[Szuros] I consider the question to be incisive, and to have human content. It is really true: Neither can it be easy for the Romanians when, for example, they have to stand in line for hours in front of the shops, and when the secret police are merciless. This, however, in the final analysis, is a Romanian domestic matter, although not entirely so. The situation of the resident Hungarians is even more bitter, for they are threatened by the policy of the Romanian leadership concerning their nationality and way of life, while the Romanians are not threatened concerning their way of life.

We have sympathy for the Romanian people, and we have friendly feelings toward them, but we also owe responsibility for the fate of Hungarians. That is what I can say, briefly, on this question.

[Correspondent] Very many of our listeners are preoccupied with what they have heard or read concerning the setting up of possible refugee camps in Hungary. Doesn't this flood of refugees threaten us with some kind of Lebanonization? This is not my question but rather one from a listener.

[Szuros] Yes. First I would say that we do not have to be afraid of the expression refugee camp. I myself have realized that there is uncertainty and a dilemma surrounding this issue. According to our interpretation, these are cultured receiving stations which, according to international stipulations, possess all the amenities for facilitating the relatively quick settlement of those who fled here.

Shortly after refugees first appeared, the interministerial coordinating committee was created to arrange the affairs of those arriving and to facilitate their adaptation. This body deals with everyday matters for the refugees and, with the encouragement of the political leadership, it has from the outset evaluated the aggravation caused by and the manageability of the situation. This, from the outset, perhaps precludes the possibility of major shocks.

As for Lebanonization, our region is not the Middle East. A European armed conflict or a considerable change in the status quo would immediately place on the agenda the danger of a confrontation on a continental, indeed global, scale. The preservation of this peace is what has been successfully achieved for around 40 years in Europe, and for this reason we must deal with this accordingly.

Another very essential difference is that in the great majority of cases it is not a matter of refugees belonging to another nation, like, let us say, Lebanon, but rather it is a matter of assistance by the mother nation, in this form, for the minority living beyond its borders.

From the start it has been clear that we have to resolve several legal and practical issues. We have already spoken about this at various fora. These acts include our joining the 1951 Geneva convention on refugee affairs, because through this the possibility of granting refugee status would be clarified; the establishment of official relations with the UN High Commission for Refugee Affairs—there is a concrete council of ministers' resolution for this, and if I am correct, this high commission's surveying delegation will arrive in Hungary on 6 February. Furthermore, there is the possible cancellation of the agreement serving to prevent dual Hungarian-Romanian citizenship, as a measure to facilitate family unification; and finally, the creation of receiving stations.

We have to view all of these with circumspection. These questions also arose at the January National Assembly session. Thus, the advantages and disadvantages are being thoroughly considered.

We have to consider our neighbors, our international agreements, etc. That is what I can say about the agreements. And as for the receiving stations, I would mention that even without them we have managed to handle the refugee problem. Unfortunately, however, the number of refugees is not abating. Mainly for this reason, but also for other ones, it appears expedient to examine the possibility of setting up receiving stations.

The next session of parliament will return to these questions, on the basis of the government's report, and at that time more detailed information will be released to the public.

[Correspondent] There are certain opinions, and signs, as well, according to which Romania, for a good century, has acted according to a single interest—what they consider to be Romania's national interest—and they are able to sell this very well in the world. They pursue very effective propaganda, whether it is diplomatic, cultural, or historical propaganda.

[Szuros] Yes, I know that many people express the opinion that Romanian diplomacy achieves results. Of course, this has a rational core. At the same time, it is expedient, in any event, to inspect the ethical and moral aspects of this. It is necessary to acknowledge that in the past, for a good 100 years, the existing Romanian Governments have, in a documented manner, put much greater energy, material, and intellectual energy into their propaganda concerning Hungary than has been the case in reverse.

This propaganda has been directed not only against the Hungarian Government policy of a historical period, but unfortunately, and very frequently, against Magyardom as an ethnic group. This approach is supported by the current positive interpretation of the Romanian military campaign against the 1919 Hungarian Republic of Councils, and also by how the indigenous Magyars living in what is now Romania are addressed, as mozgos, meaning movable. That is, the barbarity of the immigrant Magyars has been an organic party of the intense Romanian propaganda based, inter alia, on their Latin roots and relationship. Of course, I would put the word barbarity in quotation marks.

All this has had a demonstrable impact on the influential politicians of several powers, on France, for example, in the post-World War I settlement. This impact can be sensed now, as well, for example, in questions that are otherwise indifferent, such as: Who was in Transylvania first, the Romanians or the Magyars?

In recent years we have made numerous efforts so that the outside world will have a reliable picture of relations in the Carpathian Basin. This is information free from national hatred and prejudice, and not, by any means, directed at discrediting or isolating the Romanians. As I said earlier, we do not believe in boycotts or isolation; at the most, Romania is isolating itself.

Unfortunately, Romania's propaganda abroad is also stronger now. We do not want to compete, but it is strange that to this very day there has been no translation into English or German of the three-volume scientific work on Transylvania, nor has there been an abridged version. I mention this only as a characteristic example.

To continue, we consider the Romanian people to be our neighbors, as having a common lot with us. We consider it important that we find the path leading to peaceful, friendly, and good-neighborly coexistence, and I think that we should shape our (?foreign) propaganda in this spirit. There are expressive examples of this. For example, we welcome the Romanians who flee here in the same way as we receive the Magyars. And a few days ago, a Hungarian-Romanian friendship society was founded in Pecs. Therefore, allow me to say that, in short, in Hungary the tragic events have not stoked anti-Romanian sentiment. This is very important.

[Correspondent] Why is our propaganda like this? On whom does it depend, and why is it not more effective?

[Szuros] It probably depends on several of us. Now, for example, the hesitancy over the trilogy on Transylvania can be traced back to several institutions. I do not wish to go into details now, because that is not our main task. I just wanted to note it as a characteristic example. But here, we, in foreign affairs, have a task, as does the Ministry of Culture and Education, and the press as well.

[Correspondent] The next question is what international solidarity can we count on? Another one: Why is there no political unity of principle among the socialist countries concerning Ceausescu's policy? [passage omitted] Why does Hungary not turn to the Warsaw Pact for a solution to the matter? Another question: Doesn't the Hungarian Government wish to raise the Romanian issue at the UN Security Council and to discuss the situation that has developed?

[Szuros] As for the latter question, we have no intention of turning to the Security Council.

[Correspondent] Nor to the Warsaw Pact?

[Szuros] Nor to the Warsaw Pact, in this sense. As you know, we have more than once stated our stand in principle, and also in practical matters—without naming Romania—at several forums, including the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session.

To return to the essence of the question, it is a good thing that we can now count on wide-ranging international support on this issue. Nearly all of Europe is in sympathy with our stand, and indeed, outside Europe as well. [passage omitted] The question culminates with our allies. As for our allies, it has to be said frankly that the socialist countries in general, in the broader sense, are sometimes rather haunted by the past. However, it cannot be said that all of them are keeping silent. The picture is more differentiated than that. I am not thinking solely of our allies. Yugoslavia, for example, has raised the situation of the southern Slav nationalities living in Romania with the Romanian Government, and Milhail Gorbachev has made statements which, without naming Romania, can be judged as standpoints.

[Correspondent] In that toast, is that not so? [as heard]

[Szuros] That is so. That is important to us. Recently, the Polish press has dealt more unequivocally with the topic. To a certain extent it can also be judged as a standpoint that recently—for example, in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia—much greater attention has been paid to finding a solution to the problems of the Magyar nationalities living there. This, of course, is not general. The majority, so to say, positively takes a neutral stand—and I put the word positively in quotes. This certainly makes things comfortable. However, this problem is also a burden on the cooperation of the alliance. Thus, there is justification in dwelling on the thought that we, mainly in state policy, have to proceed with great circumspection.

Together with all this, I can say that, overall, international solidarity is strengthening in support of the Romanian people, whose human rights have been violated; of the nationalities living in Romania; and of those who have been compelled to leave the land where they were born. We must appreciate this.

[Correspondent] With what funds have you and your family supported the people who have resettled in Hungary from Romania?

[Szuros] I can only speak for myself, for there are four adults in my family. I have contributed 1,000 forints to the Romanian refugees' account.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] I have a personal question for you: Would you return to Arad?

[Szuros] That is an important question, and I believe I must reply in detail. I had hoped that you would spare me from this, because there were certain misunderstandings surrounding that meeting. Thus, I, and we Hungarians, are believers in negotiations. At present, however, I do not consider a meeting of the Arad-type to be timely. I would like to word this in an unequivocally clear manner: The bitter truth is that the Romanian leadership is not a partner for cooperation. To the contrary, it burdens our relations with newer and newer constraints, with restrictive measures. It is continuing its policy directed at the forcible assimilation of the Hungarian nationality.

The consequence of this conduct, which is unworthy of civilized norms, is an unprecedented phenomenon in Europe at the end of this century, and we could also rightly say in all of the cultured world—thousands of people are becoming fugitives. Settlements are being attacked with bulldozers. The cultural heritage of the nationalities is being destroyed. They ban the use of names, they force the people to deny their history, they drastically restrict their use of language, they make their culture waste away, they abolish teaching in their mother tongue, and with forced resettlement they tear them away from their birthplaces. I could continue to list these violations. This is a trampling underfoot of the most basic human rights of the minorities, and also the Romanian people.

A considerable portion of world public opinion justly condemns this. It is also a sad fact that the Romanian side is not even willing to hold talks on a considerable portion of our proposals made with the intention to improve matters. Indeed, it does not even keep its own promises.

To date, of the agreements attained at the Arad meeting, only the session of the economic mixed committee has been realized. In essence, the talks between the leaders of the tourism branch were unsuccessful. It was only after prolonged urging that we were able to present the proposal aimed at convening the session of the historians' mixed committee, and not long ago we received an indication that due to the busy schedule of the Romanian cochairman, the session probably cannot be held in the near future.

We have heard a Romanian opinion that the realization of the planned effort in the coming months is doubtful anyway, owing to the so-called bad conduct of the Hungarian press.

Beyond the Arad meeting, we have initiated nine cultural efforts, but we have not received a favorable reply to even one of them. It is not us who are qualified by this conduct. In such a situation, the question inevitably arises: Are successful talks with the Romanian side conceivable, or, generally, is there any sense in holding talks?

I think that we must hold out in favor of talks, but I want to emphasize that we, in the future, can only agree to well-prepared, fruitful talks. For this reason, I at this moment again emphasize that I would consider another meeting of the Arad type to be somethiing that ought to be very much considered. But I do not consider this to be timely now.

[Correspondent] In past years, Hungarian foreign policy has been successful. Will this remain so in the future? What can foreign policy do so that despite internal difficulties and economic failures, it gains trust abroad in the Hungarian transformation? [passage omitted]

[Szuros] I think that our foreign policy developed successfully because it was able to catch up with the reform policy; indeed, with its own means, it genuinely contributed to its accomplishment. Thus, it has gained a definite national aspect; its national character has become prominent, which means that we try to achieve endowments and possibilities from the Hungarian reality. Apart from that, it has become more open and has more initiative within the alliance system, and also in European cooperation.

As for the new features, I would like to emphasize the following: a further opening outwards is necessary. Our recent agreement with the EEC fits into this strategy, as well as our expanding, our building links with Israel, South Korea, and so on. An important part of our plan is to hold an informal symoposium in Budapest on the future of Europe. Pushing the issue of human rights to the fore is one goal. From the point of view of the all-European system of relations, we attribute great significance to our rapproachment with West European organizations with regard to integration and cooperation, including the European Parliament, the EC, and so on.

What is important among our plans are very important actions along party lines and the continuation of the three-party initiative. Apart from this there is the preparation of an all-European roundtable conference with representatives of the various parties, and so on. Thus, I would first emphasize an opening outwards, and second I would emphasize our fitting into West European integration. Briefly, we must create a balance in our Eastern and Western relations.

[Correspondent] About 4 minutes remain until the end of the program. Two questions and two answers can fit into this time: You are a member of the National Assembly and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, so you may have first-hand information about the changes in Lajos Kossuth Square [location of the parliament building], which are also being watched by foreign countries. For example, how did they react to the fact—or did they react at all—that a politician dealing with foreign affairs, the secretary of the Central Committee, was elected the leader of the communist faction in the legislature?

[Szuros] First, I would like to make it clear that in the National Assembly, the party faction, in its classical sense, does not and cannot operate; I have explained this elsewhere. The Hungarian electoral system is built on the principle of regional representation, and it is not the party but rather the citizens voting at the nominating meetings who put forward candidates. So in 1985, the conditions for candidacy were not membership in the party or precisely nonmembership in the party, but rather whether or not the candidate adopted the political platform published in the election call of the People's Front. In the National Assembly there is a group of deputies who are party members, but within this framework, instruction and orientation is taking place, and only in an extraordinarily exceptional situation, and only on the basis of a decision by the Central Committee, can the party-member deputies be requested to vote jointly. I considered it necessary to explain this.

Well, those are reasons why I do not consider it correct to talk about party factions. It would also not be correct to politicize matters if we were to make regular use of the possibilities provided by the parliamentary party majority, or if we were to abuse them. Therefore, we do not even carry out such practices.

With regard to the rest of the question, I can say that I viewed it as an honor when, in the spring of 1988, I was entrusted with the leadership of the parliamentary party group. I saw in this the possibility of serving the country. I cannot say what type of reaction this decision caused. However, I think that although this is first a task of a domestic political character, it also is one for a deputy who is a party member elected in an electoral district.

I am pleased, as a deputy and the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, that I can be part of, and an active participant in, the political processes that have recently unfolded in our country, in the framework of which the role and the responsibility of the National Assembly is growing.

[Correspondent] The second question would have been: What do you predict will happen in 1989? But we have run out of time. I have a better idea: There is no need to prophecy—at the same time next year, in the next "Radio Diary" program, we will ask you: How did you evaluate this year?

Metalworkers Union Establishes Strike Fund

LD0202142989 Budapest MTI in English
1158 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 2, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The Union of Metallurgical Workers, the biggest union in Hungary is the first trades union organization to have set up a strike fund. The fund is estimated to be about 4 million forints ($72,000).

Average monthly wages in the industry are 7,000 forints ($130).

No exact figures have been disclosed about the fund because the union wants to keep it secret in order to prevent estimates as to how long the fund can support workers on strike.

Strikes are not banned in Hungary, though a new strike law is being drafted at the moment amidst hot debates.

The government wants to limit the right to strike to protests against management, while trades unions believe that the point is whether a decision, government or managerial, affects the interest of workers. Their position means that they stick to upholding the right to strike against government decisions also and the right to stage a solidarity strike.

The 400,000-strong Union of Metallurgical Workers expects to have a revenue of 390 million dollars [as received] ($7 million) this year. Out of this they will pay between 46 and 47 million forints (12 per cent) to the Council of Trades Unions [CTU] as dues this year. However, they want to cut their contribution to the CTU to 10 per cent next year.

Commander in Chief Kulikov Replaced by Lushev

LD0202233789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] There has been a change in the post of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces. It has been reported in Moscow that the 67-year old Marshal Viktor Kulikov requested that he be released from this function. He carried it out for 12 years. Army General Petr Lushev has become the new commander in chief. Before this he was the Soviet deputy defense minister. The nomination was agreed upon with the governments of the member states of the treaty.

OPZZ Confirms Roundtable Delegates, Plans

LD0302025689 Warsaw PAP in English 0035 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 2—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), which met here today to discuss the preparations for the round table talks, took the following decisions:

—to confirm Alfred Miodowicz, Romuald Sosnowski, Stanislaw Wisniewski, Janusz Jarlinski, Harald Matuszewski, Tadeusz Raczkiewicz, Maciej Manicki and Jan Zaciura as the OPZZ representatives for the roundtable talks.

—to confirm the chairmen of topical "tables" in the debates of the part of the OPZZ: Alfred Miodowicz—for union problems, Waclaw Martyniuk—for economic issues, Jerzy Uzieblo—for political matters.

—to authorize the OPZZ chairman to appoint, in agreement with chairman of respective all-Poland trade union organizations, the OPZZ representatives composition for work at possible topical, problems, trade and other "tables".

—to authorize the OPZZ chairman to appoint advisors for the OPZZ representations participating in the work of the roundtable.

—to authorize the OPZZ chairman to present, in the name of the trade union movement, independent stances of trade unions during the roundtable debates.

The Executive Committee authorizes the OPZZ representatives at the roundtable debates to take, basing on resolutions of the OPZZ organs, decisions on issues connected with work of the roundtable and topical, problem and trade "tables" and binds them, at the same time, to deliver reports on the course of the debates to the OPZZ organs.

The present session of the OPZZ Executive Committee was held behind the closed door. Having ended the debates, Alfred Miodowicz and Romuald Sosnowski commented on their results in a talk with newsmen.

In the roundtable talks, said Miodowicz in part, we will maintain a maximally open attitude without giving up, though, the programmatic achievements of the renewed trade union movement. We are aware that union pluralism does not mean dualism, that it opens unlimited possibilities for forming new trade unions of various programmes, even several in one enterprise. And these unions will have to come to an agreement, stated the OPZZ chairman.

Certainly, there are divergent views among trade union members, said Romuald Sosnowski, but most of them generally support union pluralism as an instrument of exerting more effective pressure on employers. At the same time, however, workers are anxious lest results of such a dissaray of the union movement were dangerous. He added that the greatest anxiety of working people concerns their living standards and therefore the OPZZ discussed its own, slightly different from the governmental one, version of the social agreement.

Sosnowski did not disclose details of the concept but announced only that at the roundtable the OPZZ is going to present new proposals compared with those of the authority and opposition.

The OPZZ representatives are to participate in work of all commissions and working groups of the roundtable. In the discussion on new shape of the Polish parliament, they are, i.a., to propose formation of the trade union floor group in the Sejm.

Walesa Holds News Conference on Solidarity

LD0202183289 Warsaw PAP in English 1545 GMT 2 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak, Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Gdansk, Feb 2—The union is not a political party and it does not want to be one. Solidarity will not compete with the government, Walesa will not seek confrontation in the oncoming elections to the Sejm," said Lech Walesa at a news conference held at the Presbytery of St. Brygida's Church here today. In doing so I would defy members (of my union). This is not what we were fighting for. This is not [what] people perished for, he added.

How many people are going to represent Solidarity at the roundtable and who is going to be chairman of this group? Obviously, I am going to be chairman—replied Lech Walesa—whereas today I still cannot say precisely just how large the group of Solidarity will be and which persons will eventually make up this group. This must be confirmed by the National Executive Committee.

Do you want to bring representatives of Solidarity into the government? I have no right to do this. Solidarity is not a political party. I am to lead to its legalization and further matters will be determined by Solidarity Congress—Walesa said, adding that he felt unprepared for, incapable of sitting on the government. If other union members (are willing to do so) I will not stand in their way, he said.

Asked by a PAP journalist to present his opinion about other-than-government participants in the roundtable Walesa said that in conditions of pluralism one cannot bear grudge against anybody's existence. We are fighting for everybody—proportionally—having his share in various bodies, meetings and so forth. Today we witness a considerable chaos in this domain. Tidying up here will take some time.

The next question by PAP concerned the least controversial issues to be expectedly raised at the roundtable. We are unanimous, said Walesa, as to the need of reforming our reality. However, each side perceives this in a different way, with a view to achieving for itself as many benefits as possible. The point is that one should be mindful of the superior and the most important matters lest Poland be torn to pieces.

One of the most important tasks as far as we are concerned will consist in informing society about the work of the roundtable and the working teams. We will try to do our best in this regard. Our spokesman will be Janusz Onyszkiewicz, aided by Karol Modzelewski, Walesa said.

Until now, our union and even society have been calling on us to boycott elections, said Lech Walesa in reply to another question. However, the logic of our times shows that one must not resort to confrontation. The guarantee that the next elections will proceed in new, democratic conditions is embedded in us, society, in our wisdom. Nowhere in the world is there any other guarantee, said Walesa.

Our basic task—said Walesa in reply to a question about Solidarity unions of farmers—is pluralism for all who want to benefit from it. We are fighting for the right of association. However, we will only be instrumental in achieving this, but we are not going to help anybody out.

Will Solidarity not split over cooperation with the government?

We strive for sanctioning our existence—Walesa said. I do not know over what Solidarity may split. I do not want it to split over anything. 99 per cent of people I talked with support the direction I represent, they want agreement, they want calm and peace. Only (?one) per cent of people put their own interest before that of Poland.

Many a question concerned organizational issues of Solidarity, including prospects for holding a congress in the near future. Lech Walesa said that there are two conflicting stands: That of young people who claim that "old activists" are too long in power, and that of the latter who, in denying the importance of the young, want to confirm their own right to authority in the union.

I appeal for the quickest possible discharge from prison of Wojciech Jankowski, even if he is against me, so that he may participate in the youth team of the round table—said Walesa.

I am the greatest democrat of all times—said Walesa pointing to his attempts at reconciling those two stands.

Opponents of Roundtable Criticize Walesa

LD3001233889 Warsaw PAP in English
2208 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 30—The thing is characteristic and one might say a typical one. [sentence as received] On Jan 27, General Czeslaw Kiszczak and representatives of PUWP CC, the United Peasant Party CC and the Democratic party CC were holding all day talks with Lech Walesa accompanied by activists and advisers of "Solidarity" in a suburban locality of Magdalenka, south of Warsaw. In the presence of representatives of the authorities of the Catholic church, the sides agreed the date [6 February] of the "roundtable" talks and their subjects.

Thus, it was a breakthrough day when representatives of all mass media were waiting for a communique by the Polish press agency from early morning till late evening.

On the same day, Radio Free Europe [RFE] aired texts of statements of the so-called Liberal-Democratic Party "Independence" of the "Fighting Solidarity" and the "Independent People's Movement 'Solidarity'". These are texts published in an unspecified media on last Dec. 30. They were marked by a critical tone towards Lech Walesa and the civic committee founded by him in Warsaw. The RFE materials criticised both the way of setting up the committee, its composition and the aim of the whole project.

It has been firmly said that the body cannot be regarded particularly as a representation of the "independence wing of the Polish opposition". Fears are being voiced that the whole action "threatens that a part of the opposition will stop representing social interests."

Thus we have to do with an open declaration from the opponents of the "roundtable". The propagation of such texts encourages the organization of street demonstrations aimed to disturb the course of "roundtable" negotiations. Street rows organized in Gdansk yesterday during a rally improvised after a mass at St. Brygida church there, were an example of such manifestations.

Lodz Protest Action Settled Without Strike

LD0202205489 Warsaw Televison Service in Polish
1830 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] On the gates of the municipal transport enterprise in Lodz there are no longer any bulletin boards with information regarding protest actions.

[Unidentified correspondent] The collective dispute, begun on 21 December last year, has been settled. The workers demanded a pay raise, an improvement in social and living conditions, and changes in the system of management. The postulates are being slowly realized. It all passed over without a strike. The protest was confined to hanging up posters and the national flag.

[Unidentified voice] We followed our common sense.

[Correspondent] I take it that both the management and the workers...

[Unidentified voice, interrupting] Of course I mean both sides. Both sides approached the matter with common sense. I would like to stress this once again, but they also approached the matter with understanding for the situation, with a knowledge of the present state of things and of what can realistically be done at the present time.

[Announcer] On the other hand, in Elblag the strike of the 196-strong work force of the transport enterprise for domestic trade is in its second day. The reason for the strike is pay claims. Bread and other goods are being delivered to the shops by the vehicles of other enterprises. A delegation of the work force has gone to Olsztyn to hold talks with the management.

Factory Trade Union Groups Meet at OPZZ

LD0302130289 Warsaw PAP in English
1206 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 3—A meeting of the chairmen of factory-level trade union organisations of Poland's biggest factories started today at the seat of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ here.

The meeting's main topic is the situation in work establishments and in the entire trade union movement after the decisions taken by the PUWP CC 10th Plenum on political and trade union pluralism as well as the preparations for the "roundtable" talks.

OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz stressed that the latest meetings of the chairmen of factory-level trade union organisations in eight regions proved the purposefulness of setting up a permanent consultative structure.

Investigation Into Cleric's Death Continues

LD0202233989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2300 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] An intensive investigation is continuing into the death of Father Stefan Niedzielak. Even the very smallest clues are being examined.

As the press spoksman of the capital's office of internal affairs said, one still cannot rule out any of the results of the investigations that have been received so far.

Polish Ambassador on Dialogue With Opposition

AU0202113489 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 1 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Bek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to Bulgaria: "Strategy of Innovation in Poland"]

[Text] Recently, my Bulgarian friends, but also people from diplomatic circles, keep asking me about events in Poland. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum has evoked understandable interest. The fact that it was held in two sessions (December 1988 and January 1989), the way it proceeded, and the polemic statements, as well as the very decisions it adopted justify this interest. The plenary sessions of the plenum were devoted to reform within the party, which became a prerequisite for the strategy of innovation in Poland.

In other words, the necessity has emerged to reevaluate the party's role in the economic sector and in state matters, because only a modern-style party, efficient in its operations, and liberated from bureaucratic methods of work, only a party which is solidly established amid the working class, and appeals to people who are searching for new solutions of their problems, is able to cope with the new requirements of socialism. It is a question of a special restructuring process, characterized by a decisive turning point in reviving the Leninist concept of the party as an effective organizer of the people's masses. We are not alone in this process of searching for new solutions. It is underway in all fraternal parties which are striving for restructuring. As it is written in the theses submitted by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo to the 10th Plenum, "the party is an ideological and political, but not an administrative nor commanding force. It is not a superior department to which other departments should be subject, nor is it a government above the government, nor a parliament above the parliament." Such modification of the party's role is by no means a deviation imposed by someone, but a conscious response to contemporary requirements. This, precisely, is the intention of the basic decision adopted by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The aforementioned decision simultaneously stresses the importance of the joint responsibility assumed by the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD, whose goal it is to "coordinate and jointly implement the programs on the country's socioeconomic and cultural development."

Following an extensive discussion at which different views were expressed, the PZPR Central Committee, with a decisive majority of votes, adopted a "stand on questions of political and trade union pluralism." This was a result of the party's readiness to "proceed with dialogue in search of consent with any constructive political force, whatsoever—regardless of its political orientation and ideological motivations—as long as it observes the constitutional law and order in the country and considers the happy future of the people and state as our most valuable assets."

It is a well-known fact that Polish society is a differentiated one, both from the ideological and political points of view, and because of the country's historical development, its majority is Catholic. These differences, however, did not prevent the joint construction of socialism in Poland, and should represent even less an obstacle in the era of restructuring and glasnost. The plenum decisions make it possible, under given circumstances, to establish new trade unions, along with the existing ones, and even to include Solidarity.

Poland needs a broad national consent and the idea of a "roundtable discussion" with our former opponents serves this purpose, as long as the opponents have changed their attitude and are willing to cooperate with the authorities, instead of fighting them. The situation in the country today totally differs from the conditions of 1980 and 1981. Our society strives for national consent, for an acceleration of the economic reform resulting in an abundance of material supplies and prosperity for all Polish families. Our society is willing to engage in peaceful labor and to be justly rewarded for these efforts. Whoever tries to prevent the people from doing so, will hardly earn any praise. Hence, all conditions exist today to rally the efforts of the overwhelming majority and establish "a broad pro-reform coalition" as they say in our country, for the development of all economic sectors for the purpose of satisfying the people's needs.

Every leading communist, or workers party is entirely responsible for its country's socialist future. As a result of this, it selects the most appropriate method for the implementation of this supreme goal under the specific national conditions existing in the respective country. This, precisely, was the idea on which the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum based its actions.

The interest evoked by this plenum is quite understandable, since it conforms with the new stage of building socialism in Poland. This is a more difficult stage, but, as we firmly believe, a more effective one. We will learn from the experience of the fraternal, socialist countries—experiences which are often innovative.

There is even more: Both Poland and Bulgaria are promoting independence and self-management, creating opportunities for social initiative, and establishing a new model of socialism in the spirit of the concepts developed by our two parties. This will facilitate the further development of bilateral cooperation, which in the last 2 years marked an unprecedented dynamic increase in the economic sphere.

The great importance of Polish-Bulgarian cooperation is reflected with particular emphasis in two programmatic documents signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Todor Zhivkov, in September 1988, in Sofia. I would not be wrong in saying that these agreements are truly marked by the spirit of the restructuring era. They expand the scope of initiative in mutual contacts on the basis of the changes implemented in both countries.

Court Rules on Trade Union's Nomenclature

LD3001165589 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] The Supreme Court has ruled that the name of an enterprise trade union organization—in addition to the name of an enterprise, industrial branch, type of employment, or profession of the associated employees—may contain additional designation, for example: Solidarity.

Rakowski, Sekula Meet Enterprise Directors

LD0302032489 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 2—About 3,000 directors of enterprises of various economic branches from all over Poland assembled here today to meet the government. The main goal of the meeting is to present economic mechanisms and principles of economic policy binding this year in the light of laws adopted by the Sejm recently.

What reasons forejudged the gathering of you here. The first is the moment experienced by us, said Premier Rakowski opening the debates. Poland is in the period of great socioeconomic changes and one can hardly define at which kilometre of the road we are in this process. However, one can say with full certainty that new economic and political structures replace old structures that are already empty and non-creative. But these new structures have not yet taken deeper roots and do not yet define the nation's everyday life and Poland's everyday pace of life. One can say in this way: The new has not yet struck deeper roots, the old is still stuck strongly both in social consciousness and in the everyday work of millions of producers of material goods.

The second reason is the fact that economy is and will remain the factor that will determine the shape of a new model of socialism that assumed such clear contents in the resolution of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum. All even the most splendid ideas propagating excellent democratic order can be discredited in the eyes of society if the economy does not show its effectiveness and the ability to keep up pace with the economy of the highly developed countries that are scientifically and technologically advanced. The third reason, perhaps the most important one, means that the fate of the Polish economy both today and tomorrow lies primarily in your hands, said the premier addressing the gathering.

And the fourth reason. Not only beneficial phenomena take place in the polish economy [words indistinct] for the state and the nation for the presence and the future.

One of such phenomena is the unusual excessive spending of money, which ocurred over the past three months of last year. This spending caused the almost total destruction of the market and the growth of inflation that is mortal disease of every economy. If the excessive spending of money will continue to proceed as it does now, will have nothing to spend.

Vice-premier Ireneusz Sekula started his address with the characteristics of the government hitherto work.

We intend to base our economy on the market mechanism. This means that money must be money, price must be price and value must be value. We departed and depart from all kinds of rationing, coupons entitling its holder to buy rationed goods, allocations and other kinds of paramoney. We want to restore the principle of one currency so that only the zloty could be the money convertible into commodities, including into such a commodity which is foreign currency. We must make the economy be oriented at augmenting values and not, as so far, at dividing the deficit. The state's economic functions will also change and instead of rationing and allocating factors of production the state will concentrate on strategic questions, defining priorities and on creating conditions for their implementation.

We initiate a model of freedom, equality and competition in the economy, the vice-premier repeated his slogan.

Next, Sekula discussed the present economic determinants, stressing that high budgetary deficit, indebtedness and inflationary phenomena must be solved in a comphrehensive way. Boosting the economy and regaining prosperity should be a common denominator of these solutions. That is the reason for the radicalism of solutions at times brought to the limits of endurance.

A director should be the partner of a trade union. The times come when it is necessary to put an end to the hitherto division into "government" and "trade union" sides. A director can become the main partner in negotiations with trade unions. The director should be a man belonging to the well-conceived elite and should have power, high economic position, and confidence.

Vice-Minister of Finances Wincenty Lewandowski presented the Sejm adopted laws on the financial economy of enterprises and on an income tax from corporate bodies.

If people say today that the Rakowski government is doomed to success, we will not score it without you, Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek told the directors. We must win you over for the program of improving the economy that should be made up of good profitable enterprises. Wilczek said he was setting up a group of advisers from directors of the best enterprises. The directors remain at their present posts but their task is to be currently in touch with the ministry.

Reports and explanations by government members were coupled with speeches by directors. Most of them approved of changes taking place in economic mechanisms introduced by the Rakowski government. They criticized detailed questions, stressing particularly that there was still the need to stabilize rules of the game.

Ending debates, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said: "The future of our country will be first of all depending on the state of our economy. It is the latter that shapes public moods. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to state that Poland's fate rests with enterprises managerial personnel today. We will unshakingly support good managers, support them under any circumstances provided they are right."

"I am asking you to evince care for working people. I come out in favor of strong authority but also in favor of being extremely sensitive to individual problems," Rakowski addressed managers.

The prime minister fully supported the postulate forwarded by some speakers so that work establishments will not become an arena of political struggle. "It would be a disaster for poland, if we were to anew plunge in political quarrels and outbidding at work establishments. One could not then count on anything.

Referring to sometimes formulated charges to the effect that undertaken reforms might be a sell-out of socialism, Rakowski said that if anything was being sold out, it was nonsense which had been carefully accumulated for a long time. It is not even a sell-out. Poland can give it for nothing if only somebody wanted to buy it.

The Premier again stressed that it was very important not to allow for another race between pays and prices which only results in spiralling inflation. "Inflation may destroy everything, even the most beautiful plans and the noblest intentions," he said.

"I want to be an optimist. I am tired of meeting at every step with complaints and grumbling, with manifestations of the feeling of impossibility. We really have a chance to escape the pressure of impossibility and to liquidate the results of the crisis," Rakowski stated.

Sekula Interviewed on CEMA, Poland's Role

AU2201145589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula by Eugeniusz Waszczuk: "CEMA Faces the Challenge of the Future"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Waszczuk] The 40th anniversary of CEMA's founding is this year. This is a suitable occasion for summing up the achievements of the council to date and, above all, for giving careful consideration to the question of why the organization's activities have not adequately advanced the integration of the socialist states. What are the main reasons for this?

[Sekula] Like every anniversary, the 40th anniversary of CEMA's establishment prompts one to assess and reflect. However, I would like to emphasize that we did not wait for this occasion to analyze and assess CEMA activity; we had done so much earlier. Much attention was devoted to this issue at the 43d CEMA session, which was held in Moscow in October 1987. The resolutions that were passed at the session became a catalyst and a stimulus for far-reaching change in the organization's activity. Besides, recognition of the need to make changes to cooperation between our countries has been growing for a long time now.

It is true that the results produced by 40 years of CEMA activity have not met expectations. However, it is also a fact that the organization has many positive achievements to its credit. It is because of CEMA activity that cooperation has been strengthened in fields such as the coordination of national economic plans, joint investments (oil, gas, cellulose, asbestos, iron ore, laying high tension cables), and production specialization and cooperation, although we consider the extent to which the latter has developed to be inadequate.

However, today we apply a different criterion for judging CEMA achievements that might have pleased us just a few years ago. We want to, and we must, go forward. That is what the present dictates and, at the same time, it is an important condition for sociopolitical and economic changes in individual countries and in the entire socialist community. Thus, it lies in our interests to strengthen the integration of our countries. This is not a simple process, and good intentions are not enough. The council is accused of inertia, excessive bureaucracy, producing ineffective resolutions, and a lack of boldness in tackling a growing number of problems. There is quite a large element of truth in this. However, in my opinion there are much deeper reasons why the socialist countries' most important economic organization, which is what CEMA is, cannot satisfy the hopes and expectations that are attached to its activities. For example, I could mention problems stemming from differences in the economic capabilities and level of development of individual countries that belong to the council, the varying extent to which progress has been made in implementing economic reforms, and, above all, the lack of effective economic mechanisms that act as a real stimulus for cooperation.

CEMA activity has undergone significant modifications over the years. We have moved on from the provision of mutual economic and scientific and technical assistance and the straightforward exchange of goods in the years just after the war to increasingly higher forms of cooperation. In light of the challenges of the future, CEMA must become a dynamic organization that responds vigorously to changes in the world and is receptive to everything that is new and modern. We do not live in isolation, and it is high time that we discarded an autarkic approach to resolving important matters once and for all. The atmosphere today is more conducive to instituting radical changes than at any time in the past. I am thinking of restructuring in the USSR, as well as the economic reforms that are being instituted in other CEMA countries, including Poland, of course.

Now that we have mentioned Poland, I would like to stress that, although Poland's level of activity varied during the different stages of CEMA activity, we have always come forward with initiatives aimed at reorganizing the forms, methods, and mechanisms of cooperation. In recent years, we have announced a whole series of concrete proposals concerning matters of fundamental significance, such as making the systems according to which our countries' economies operate resemble one another more closely, introducing greater uniformity into these systems, introducing multilateral settlement procedures (rigid bilateralism is a serious check on integration), working out common exchange rate policy principles that would lead to mutual currency convertibility among CEMA countries, introducing uniform pricing principles for goods and services that are traded—prices that are based on world prices or are close to them—and permitting freedom of activity for our countries' economic and scientific units within the entire community. I am pleased to be able to say that these proposals have met with great interest on the part of CEMA member countries. There were many issues on which our proposals were convergent with the positions of our partners, and this was reflected in the resolutions that were adopted at council sessions. The most important thing today is to ensure that these resolutions are implemented.

Some very complicated issues are involved here. It is difficult to institute all these things at once. It has to be a process that is gradually realized, in stages. However, we are against allowing this process to drag on for too long. For example, we have to begin by making national currencies convertible between the various CEMA countries. A further step would be to make it possible to convert national currencies into the common currency, which is the transfer ruble. In the long term, we see it possible to fully convert the transfer ruble into convertible currencies.

Time is running out and we have to start moving ahead more briskly. Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have expressed support for making foreign trade balances partially convertible into free exchange currencies and think that it would be possible to begin implementing this solution in 1990.

I think that the most important opportunities for making this program a success lie in domestic reforms, in making our economies market oriented, and in the longer term prospect of a strong common market among the socialist countries. This is a basic condition for quickly getting the entire community out of difficulties.

[Waszczuk] Surely, overcoming non-economic resistance—old habits, inertia, a fear of risks—has an important role to play in this respect....

[Sekula] You are right. It really does seriously hold back our development. We have to learn how to think in a new way, adopt a novel approach to solving the problems that have been accumulating over a long time now, and overcome the resistance that resides in us ourselves. A ready set of reforms will not just turn up out of the blue. The realization of these reforms requires commitment and determination, a readiness to experiment and to take intelligent risks. We will not move forward without changing old habits—this applies both to our country and to the community as a whole.

The future of economic relations within the framework of the socialist community will, to a significant degree, belong to new forms of cooperation between independent economic units.

That is why the main course is one of going over from the traditional forms of commerce and trade that have been the predominant ones in bilateral and multilateral relations until now to new, more fruitful forms of direct, more extensive cooperation between independent enterprises and scientific and technical organizations and the creation of joint enterprises and organizations. There is no other path leading to a common socialist market. A strong impetus was given to these efforts by the summit level CEMA conferences held in 1984 and 1986. The 43d and 44th CEMA sessions set out guidelines for work on new solutions.

The foundations for the development of direct ties between Polish enterprises and CEMA partners are provided by intergovernmental agreements concluded over the last 2 years: Intergovernmental agreements on direct production and scientific and technical cooperation have been concluded with the USSR, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Currently, direct production cooperation is being engaged in by more than 400 enterprises, and almost 330 are involved in this kind of cooperation with Soviet partners, and 120 Polish research, development, and production organizations are involved in direct scientific and technical cooperation. Cooperation between domestic trade organizations in border areas is producing tangible bilateral benefits. Trade with Lithuania and Belorussia, which already involves more than 200 domestic trade organizations, reached a level of about 200 million rubles in 1988.

Several joint Polish-Soviet enterprises, as well as a Polish-Bulgarian and a Polish-Hungarian company have started operations. Currently, preparations are in progress for the establishment of about 30 joint enterprises, primarily Polish-Soviet ones, and these preparations were started on the initiative of enterprises themselves.

We are just at the beginning of the road in this field. We are gathering experience and learning how to overcome obstacles and remove hurdles.

We are pleased to be able to note that the process is underway whereby enterprises are going over from exchanging views and experiences to engaging in industrial cooperation. It is pleasing that it is no longer necessary to talk people into engaging in cooperation. Enterprises themselves have become ripe for cooperation. The advantages that it brings have convinced them of its worth. The number of grass-roots initiatives that have been launched indicates that cooperation has "caught on." Enterprises themselves are pressing for the reform of cooperation mechanisms to be speeded up. We have accomplished much in this respect by way of bilateral solutions, primarily with the USSR.

We expect CEMA organs to speed up work on giving these solutions a multilateral character and on spreading positive experience.

[Waszczuk] The planned reforms are to lead to the creation of an integrated socialist market, in which there will be a free flow of goods, services, and production inputs. How realistic is this, in view of the legal and institutional differences that exist between some CEMA countries?

[Sekula] The creation of an integrated market for the socialist countries is a long-term process that will occur in stages, and it is calculated to take 15 to 20 years. This is a goal toward which at least some countries, principally European ones, must develop. Changes must also be made to the international division of labor and, as reforms are instituted in individual countries, steps must be taken to make the ways in which economies are run similar. Above all, it is a question of removing the obstacles and barriers to the free flow of goods, people, capital, technology, and services.

The beginning of the first stage of this process is the development of direct cooperation between enterprises and the establishment of joint enterprises. The next step is to make changes to the way in which the CEMA market operates, to introduce currency convertibility, and to solve problems relating to the way in which prices are set.

The creation of an integrated market for the CEMA countries will be aided by trade integration that envisages gradual liberalization and the abandonment of bilateralism and quota systems, as well as the establishment of joint ventures, joint capital investment projects, and the joint resolution of the market problems that have been accumulating.

However, the starting point for these activities should be the strengthening and better organization of markets in individual countries. It is difficult to talk about an integrated market at all in a situation in which domestic markets are weak.

Our government's most recent decisions are geared toward promoting moves in this direction. We are creating conditions for the free operation of economic units in all sectors of the economy. This is the goal behind the laws on developing initiative and obtaining foreign capital, the law on the financial administration of enterprises, and a whole series of other laws.

[Waszczuk] It is difficult to describe what has been happening on the borders of some socialist countries as activity aimed at promoting integration. It is even possible to understand the causes—they are attempts to protect weak domestic markets by using administrative methods—but these things should surely be viewed as passing phenomena. Future integration means the free flow of goods and of people, above all—that is the most important condition...

[Sekula] As we can see, there is still a long way to go before we achieve a free flow of goods and people. These are undoubtedly passing phenomena. They are short term, but not the best ways of protecting markets. I hope that practices of this kind will not become permanent methods for solving market problems. I think that the reforms that we have been talking about will enable our community to work out better solutions.

[Waszczuk] What does the creation of the EEC common market at the end of 1992 mean for CEMA?

[Sekula] Europe is and will remain our common home. The new thinking and the policy for East-West relations that Mikhail Gorbachev represents—although there is a difficult road ahead of us—envisages that divisions and confrontation will be replaced by real cooperation. It is understandable that we are carefully watching what is happening in the other half of Europe. Currently, integration processes are gathering momentum there. In 1992 the Common Market is to be transformed into one big domestic market. This undoubtedly represents a challenge for the CEMA countries.

The response to this challenge should be the acceleration of the process for strengthening cooperation based on an international division of labor, efficient and effective economic mechanisms, and strong, competitive domestic markets. It is obvious that this will require great, common efforts.

The signing in June 1988 of the "Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Official Relations Between the EEC and CEMA" represents an important step on the road toward developing East-West relations. It has opened the way for European socialist countries to negotiate bilateral trade and cooperation agreements with the EEC. Poland is currently engaged in talks on the conclusion of an agreement with the EEC on the development of trade and cooperation.

New, broad areas for cooperation between the two formations are also opening up. This particularly applies to areas such as the exchange of information, scientific and technical cooperation, cooperation in the standardization and certification field, environmental protection, transportation, and a whole series of other areas.

We are interested in this kind of cooperation, and we must do everything we can to give it a partner-like character.

A lasting "common European home" requires a solid foundation in the form of economic cooperation.

[Waszczuk] Thank you.

Zawodzinski Queried on CEMA Achievements

AU2201180689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jan 89 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Stefan Zawodzinski, CEMA assistant secretary, by Janusz Karkoszka in Moscow: "Let Us Not Waste Possibilities"—date not given]

[Text] [Karkoszka] Anniversaries are a time for reflection, but also a good opportunity to take a critical look at the past 40 years and consider what was not done but could have been done. Therefore, what do you think CEMA has managed to achieve during the 40 years of its existence and activity?

[Zawodzinski] Indeed, for many years we merely talked about achievements whenever an anniversary cropped up, but only said a few sentences about unsolved problems. Today it is time to alter the proportions, though I would not like the reader to gain the impression that CEMA has failed to note any achievements. These achievements are considerable and generally known. I think there will be a lot of talk about them during the 40th anniversary of CEMA celebrations.

So let us proceed to the matters that have not been settled over the past 40 years. I would like to point out a few which I consider to be the most important ones.

First, the level of integration is still low. This can be clearly seen in the trade between our countries. This is not real trade. The principle that is generally followed in the world is goods for money, and money for goods. With us, however, the principle is goods for goods. In other words, our trade is a simple exchange of goods.

Second, there is the convertibility of foreign currencies and their rates of exchange. These vary such a lot, and are so unrealistic, that they make economic cooperation and tourism difficult.

While on the subject, should it come as a surprise that tourism between our countries so frequently involves trade in goods? This is because the prices of the same commodity are different in each country. Therefore, it is understandable that people will go to other countries to buy goods more cheaply than they can at home, and even goods that they cannot find at home. The latest tightening of customs regulations proves that we have not succeeded in creating stable internal mechanisms.

We have also failed to achieve a proper degree of division of labor. Theoretically, it would seem that this is easier to achieve in countries with a planned economy than in capitalist countries, and yet the reverse is true. Of course one cannot say that nothing has been achieved, because there are major achievements as far as the division of labor in the raw materials and energy industries is concerned. However, generally, each of our countries is trying to solve most of its problems on its own, which is pushing up unit costs and reducing productivity.

[Karkoszka] More or less 1 year ago, perestroyka also penetrated CEMA. What is the status of this process? Can we expect glasnost, an inseparable part of perestroyka, to accompany it to an increasing extent?

[Zawodzinski] Perestroyka has indeed made a penetration. We have many programs and principles, but let us rather concentrate on what has been done. Visible achievements have been made in the sphere of administration and organization. There are less commissions now, and less CEMA employees. This activity will be continued. However, substantive issues are more important, in other words, improving the mechanisms of economic cooperation. This applies to the convertibility of currency, for example. Stages reaching to this goal are to be worked out by the end of 1989. The fact that this topic has been undertaken should be considered a positive feature. The same applies to prices. For example, Poland believes that CEMA should gradually switch over to world prices. Other states have different ideas. Here the problem of glasnost comes in. I completely agree with the view that openness should be an inseparable part of restructuring, but is it? No, it is not, not today! I would like to state my opinion on this subject. Normally, different countries adopt a different approach. What is not normal is that we do not talk about this. So, for example, some CEMA committee holds a meeting, a communique is published, and everyone who reads it gains the impression that CEMA is doing nothing at all. Yet there are real disputes going on, real differences of opinion and stormy discussions. I think we must see to it that the stances of individual countries are made public. This would have major advantages. First of all, society would know what a given government or minister thinks about an issue; and second, unless information is carried in the media, a speaker may say that he objects to something, and will then refuse to explain. I am convinced that at a time of glasnost in CEMA, people will think very carefully before they say no without an explanation.

The first talks on the subject of information policy will take place soon. What will the results be? It is difficult to say. However, the very fact that these talks will take place is a positive sign. In my opinion, and I stress that it is my opinion, there ought to be radical changes in this sphere. We cannot be satisfied by appearances. Revealing various points of view will not affect anyone's independence. Let us use the good examples of others, such as the EEC. The opinion of each participant is universally known there, but that does not make the process of EEC integration and decisionmaking suffer. In CEMA, it would seem that as far as discussions are concerned, there is not the slightest problem, and yet our progress is minimal.

[Karkoszka] While on the subject of perestroyka, do you not think the name of the organization should change as well? Do you not think that "assistance" should be replaced by "cooperation"?

[Zawodzinski] Indeed, assistance is only marginal in CEMA right now, and cooperation predominates. I agree that the organization's name should suit its character. The concept "mutual assistance" is out of date.

[Karkoszka] Official relations between CEMA and the EEC were established recently. What do you think are the prospects for developing cooperation between these groups?

[Zawodzinski] The signing of the joint declaration was a major political act. Of course, the mutual recognition of both organizations should improve economic cooperation, but closer economic cooperation will not occur until later in the future. First of all, bilateral relations will be established and economic cooperation will develop between the EEC as a whole and individual CEMA countries. Why? Because each organization has differences in its scope. For example, the EEC Commission has full powers concerning foreign trade. In CEMA, this is a problem for individual countries. Such agreements with the EEC have been signed by Hungary and the CSSR. I think the Soviet Union, Poland, and Bulgaria will also sign them this year. At the same time, multilateral cooperation will develop. We propose such cooperation in environmental protection, energy, transport, and standardization. The EEC has accepted our proposals provisionally. They will be discussed at the next EEC-CEMA meeting in Moscow this year. However, I wish to make it plain that signing a declaration is a political act that merely creates the conditions for a development of economic cooperation. In fact, in the beginning at least, this development will be very difficult.

[Karkoszka] Finally, how should CEMA economic cooperation look in 10 years' time, when we celebrate the 50th anniversary?

[Zawodzinski] I would rephrase the question, and say: Which of today's problems might be resolved in 10 years' time, and what does it depend on? There are many such problems, for example uniform prices for the same goods, the convertibility of our currencies, the stabilization of our internal markets, foreign trade in the full meaning of the word, an alteration in the structure of CEMA exports so that more finished goods and less raw materials are exported (however, this can only happen if there is progress in implementing the scientific development program), and a certain equalization of economic development between individual CEMA countries, mainly in the case of non-European member countries. As a result, it is possible to achieve a united CEMA market.

These are problems that could be resolved within 10 years. But will they? It is difficult to say. It will depend on many factors, mainly on whether it will be possible to unite the efforts of CEMA countries, and whether the basic problem of total economic integration remains in our horizon. Today, every CEMA country is struggling with economic problems. These problems are various, and there are also various ways of solving them. Each country is solving them on its own, which is quite understandable, but if we solve all problems only on our own, we will not attain our objectives.

We can enter the 21st century with a united CEMA market. The possibilities still exist today. We must not waste them.

Baka Meets with National Council of Managers

LD2401012089 Warsaw PAP in English
2336 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23—Members of the National Council of Managers of Enterprises which was formed on January 20 at the initiative of the scientific society of organization and management met today with the PUWP CC Secretary and Political Bureau member Wladyslaw Baka.

"Establishing the Council has been another step towards the subjectivity of worker groups," Baka said. "The possibility of creating a national economic self-management chamber is also discussed. The chamber would unite organs which deal with management of enterprises, namely the boards of directors of enterprises and their worker self-management bodies."

"Comanagement of an enterprise does not exempt managers from responsibility for undertaken decisions," emphasized members of the National Council of Managers of Enterprises. In their opinion it is a necessity to have the position of a manager strengthened by law. It was proposed at the meeting that factory directors be granted a few-year licence as managers. Participants in the meeting also discussed the new role of trade unions, particularly in conditions of pluralism. They expressed an anxiety that workplaces might change into arenas of political struggle while their fundamental task is production.

"The exceptional situation of Polish economy, foreign debts, inaccessability of modern technologies, and inflation are the reasons for delays and the lack of normalisation of economic relations," said Baka concluding the discussion. "Along with the economic reform which the government is firmly implementing despite all the difficulties, changes are also taking place in public life, which is evidenced by the PUWP stand on political and trade union pluralism. The transformations must be taking place simultaneously and the success of the implemented reforms depends on them," Baka opined.

Sejm Deputy Speaks on 5-Year Plan Amendments

AU0202182189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
31 Jan 89 p 4

[Report on speech by Sejm Deputy Stanislaw Kielan at the 30 January Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Sejm Deputy Stanislaw Kielan said that the implementation of the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan has been accompanied by many positive phenomena, but also by an entire series of distortions and departures from the plan's provisions. The chief negative phenomena are an increasing market-financial imbalance and a rise in inflation, coupled with a delay in the housing construction plan. The counteraction of these phenomena has proved ineffective. Therefore, the draft Sejm resolution to amend the National Socioeconomic Plan calls for changes to economic policy and to economic instruments, in order to encourage greater enterprise and eliminate the distortions to the process of development. It calls for faster structural changes and a faster modernization of the economy, as a result of which Poland will be able to take greater part in international exchange. Finally, the draft resolution accords priority to an expansion of agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, and environmental protection, spheres which have a direct bearing on the standard of living. As a result, the bill provides for a market orientation of the economy and an increase in individual and collective enterprise in every sector of ownership.

An examination of the draft Sejm resolution to amend the National Socioeconomic Plan indicates that many parts of the plan cannot be implemented in their present form. The plan's further implementation calls for new instruments which would accelerate the economic reform. In such a situation, it is essential to make changes to economic policy and accord priority to food production, housing construction, and environmental protection.

S. Kielan observed that in this case, the word priority does not mean more favorable plan provisions for the abovementioned goals than those in the present version of the plan, because one has to take into account the possibilities permitted by the present difficult economic and social situation. Therefore, the figures in the planned amendment to the National Socioeconomic Plan are lower than in the original plan. Because of this, they have been criticized by some members of Sejm commissions. Nevertheless, 11 Sejm commissions out of the 12 that submitted written comments about the government draft amendment, plus the Socioeconomic Council, have reacted favorably to it.

The Sejm team of advisers has recommended that the Sejm should not adopt the draft resolution on changes to the National Socioeconomic Plan, and has tried to show that the draft does not merit Sejm approval on account of glaring discrepancies between general objectives and the proposed ways of attaining them. The team of advisers also said that the draft is correct as far as the conditions for greater enterprise are concerned, but contains no suggestions on how to balance out the market and combat inflation. The Sejm commission dealing with housing construction has also criticized the draft, claiming that it does not reflect the government's priorities in this regard.

It transpires that there is a considerable amount of fear for financial-market equilibrium, prices and incomes policy, and the supply of food commodities. There is a feeling of concern over absence of guarantees that inflation will be overcome.

The Sejm commissions working on the plan alterations have regarded it expedient to preserve the present plan figures concerning priority spheres as much as possible. In other words, it is suggested that outlay on agriculture and that part of the chemical industry producing for the needs of agriculture be kept to its present level. The housing construction target should be set at the lower of the figures contained in the present plan version, which means building 1,050,000 apartments between 1986 and 1990. Emphasis must be laid on an expansion of the construction materials industry. Pensions should be reviewed at least twice a year.

Finally, Deputy S. Kielan said that the tendency of some Sejm committees, illustrated in their resolutions and comments, to defend the present size of tasks and financial outlay in spheres other than priority ones is unacceptable under the present conditions. The government draft is legally justified, because according to the 1982 Socioeconomic Planning Act, changes to the paths and objectives of socioeconomic policy can only be made by amending the National Socioeconomic Plan.

Interview With Adviser to Finance Minister

PM2001164089 Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish
2 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Zygmunt Zdyb, adviser to the minister of finance, by Andrzej Zalucki; date, place not given]

[Text] [Zalucki] Our unused money reserves, both in private hands and enterprises, are estimated at around Z3.5 trillion, and we can be fairly certain they are even higher. With that money we could open several new factories, to say nothing of improving the situation in a large number of others. However, few enterprises decide to take the steps necessary to achieve this, such as the issue of shares, for instance. What, in your opinion, are the reasons for such caution?

[Zdyb] Our present system on the one hand allows people to obtain money easily and on the other does not force them to invest sufficiently in development. The simple reason is that it is easier to live without bothering about development and technological modernization. When money is needed it is always possible to obtain a bank loan—by hook or by crook—and the bank is subsequently not always strict with the borrowers. And somehow life goes on. That is why there are not many candidates eager to take on the obligations deriving from the very rigorous regulations pertaining to the issue of shares. For example, shareholders are entitled to demand that a share issuing company which has not fulfilled its obligations return their money together with the interest accrued. They can also initiate civil proceedings to claim damages, and if the share issuing company has already invested the money it could then face bankruptcy. So why should companies willingly expose themselves to such trouble? However, given the changes we are about to introduce in the system of managing the economy and, in particular, the state's finances, I hope that we will eventually arrive at a stage where bank loans will be much more difficult to obtain. It will then be necessary to resort to alternative methods of securing the resources needed to finance development, such as the issue of shares, for instance.

[Zalucki] So far, however, regardless of the many years spent introducing the reform, enterprise managements often persist in following the old principles.

[Zdyb] Which goes against the intention of the reform. But we have now made our first steps along the new road.

[Zalucki] It is a good thing that the central authorities have been making these first steps and that they offer new opportunities to those who are bold enough. But sometimes those new steps are very cautious. Take, for example, the following announcement: It is intended that a stock exchange be created at an opportune time. We do not know who is supposed to create it and when.

[Zdyb] Acting on behalf of the government, the Ministry of Finance will create an institution called the Stock Exchange. It will constitute a venue for buying and selling transactions; it will also publish stock exchange results, record the transactions, and inform interested parties on the stock market situation. There is no point in launching it now because it would not attract any clients: There are too few shares in the market as yet.

[Zalucki] Does this mean that you expect the second new Sejm act on the share market to encourage companies to start issuing shares? Although the procedure is now much simpler, there is the new requirement to publish your financial results in the papers. Would that not be a deterrent?

[Zdyb] No. It is simply a different procedure to be followed in such financial activities. There is nothing secret about these activities, nothing that would be unsuitable for exposure to public scrutiny. On the contrary, there should be complete openness and availability of information, so that the companies involved can thus strengthen their position in the economic market and build up their credibility.

[Zalucki] But we know that many are extremely reluctant to embark on the scheme and will even go to such lengths as to "massage" Central Statistical Office reports...

[Zdyb] ...because they are accustomed to the old style of operation. All this will eventually change provided that we are consistent in the implementation of the principles written into the plan for the consolidation of the national economy. We will create a situation in which all the leading management positions will have to be filled by people who think along the new lines.

[Zalucki] The consolidation plan also provides for shares issued by joint stock companies, and—if I remember correctly—several enterprises wanted to sell shares to their employees, but the finance minister did not agree to it.

[Zdyb] Let me answer this briefly. According to the regulations in force since 1 January 1988 a state-owned enterprise which wants to issue shares must become a company—in this case, a joint stock company. There are no legal impediments, and the appropriate, legally prescribed procedure is there to be taken advantage of.

[Zalucki] Do you believe that there will be no hindrance and interference from the outside? After all, the companies will remain state-owned.

[Zdyb] The approved procedure provides for the creation of an advisory group comprising representatives of a wide range of institutions whose task would be to advise whether such a transition would be economically justifiable. The subsequent decision would be made by the founding body.

[Zalucki] The new government has already taken several decisive steps. The same, however, cannot be said of the finance minister. So far there has been no indication of any bold moves on his part. Many people cherish the hope that the state will at long last cease to be an institution whose main objective is to to take money away from enterprises and then decide in what form and to whom it should be given back. These people have been asking: When are we going to be given financial independence? When will we be able to stop begging to be given money under a variety of guises, such as various concessions, for example? After all, without these we are short of funds for virtually everything.

[Zdyb] We have made preparations to introduce major changes into the financial and tax systems. Not much is going to be left of the old legislation. The new system will be geared to the realization of the principle you have just recalled, that is, the transformation of the existing enterprises into independent and self-financing economic entities. It will also provide legislation which will oblige these free, autonomous, and self-financing enterprises to assume full responsibility for all their actions. We have prepared legislation which will distinguish between the categories of state property to be directly administered by the exchequer and state property to be entrusted to and administered by individual enterprises. We have proposed the creation of a so-called promotion fund, to be allocated by the exchequer to state-owned enterprises. In connection with this, the enterprises would pay dividends on that allocation to the state budget in addition to the regular tax payable by each socialized or nonsocialized economic entity. We will create the institution of the Exchequer. Tax rates will be reduced in an attempt to ease the present heavy strain on enterprise finances. We will also reduce the number of categories of tax liabilities. These are just some examples of what we plan to do.

[Zalucki] Thank you for talking to me.

Spokesman on Talks With Council of Europe

LD0202204189 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 2—A delegation of representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Culture and Art visited Strasbourg recently to lay foundations, as Western agencies reported, for building a pragmatic cooperation with the Council of Europe. The agencies also reported that the council's parliamentary assembly was considering a definition of a "special status of a new observer" which, if granted to socialist countries, would make it possible for East-European delegates to participate in sessions of the parliamentary assembly.

PAP asked Foreign Ministry spokesman, Stefan Staniszewski, to comment on these reports. "I confirm this information," he said. "I also want to recall that we have had contacts with the Council of Europe for some time now. Last year the Council's General Secretary Marcelino Oreja visited Poland to discuss the expansion of the

Council's operation over the whole continent, including socialist countries. This direction of making the Council of Europe a pan-European organization was proposed by Gen Jaruzelski in his May 8, 1987 speech."

"The recent visit to Strasbourg by Polish experts is just the result of Oreja's talks in Poland. They discussed there a number of concrete issues concerning the possibility of cooperation which would embrace the fields of culture, education, health care, environmental protection, and uniformity of the law. They also discussed the question of Poland's joining some conventions," Staniszewski disclosed.

Government Committee Discusses Nuclear Energy

AU3101151689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 6

[Krystyna Panek report: "The Facts and Myths About Nuclear Energy"]

[Excerpts] The building of a nuclear power station in Zarnowce, and plans for a second one in Klempicz, are causing many fears. Because of objections to the Polish nuclear energy program voiced by scientists in Gdansk, the residents of Wroclaw, and the People's Council of Wronki; not to mention an open letter from the residents of Darlowo and a demonstration in Lublin; the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee decided to hold a meeting on 26 January in order to discuss the socioeconomic reasons behind the development of nuclear energy.

The meeting was attended by Morris Rosen, director of the Department of Security of the IAEA; and Abel J. Gonzales, chief of Radiation Protection at the IAEA. It was chaired by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Sociopolitical Committee.

It is a fact that our economy is about 2 and ½ times more energy-intensive than West European economies, said Jerzy Bijak, deputy minister of Industry. Therefore, it would be impossible and irrational to continue with the present intensive energy expansion policy. It is essential to restructure the economy in such a way that energy consumption is rationalized. It is also necessary to alter the structure of energy sources, reduce prices, increase the efficiency of energy processes, and so on. These tasks are contained in the relevant programs.

However, according to present analyses, these undertakings will not be enough to balance out Poland's energy consumption. Unless we implement a nuclear energy program, we will have an energy shortage of between 1,500 to 2,000 megawatts around the year 2020. The fact that this form of energy is less harmful to the environment is also important. [passage omitted]

Wrong information about plans to build the "warta" nuclear plant in Klempicz and a failure to discuss these plans with the local population led to protests from people in and around Wronki, said Kazimierz Gott, chairman of the Wronki People's Council. The long Sociopolitical Committee debate was an attempt to clear many doubts and assess the advantages and disadvantages of nuclear energy. Although it was not possible to dispel every fear and myth, the first major step toward open discussion and an exchange of views about nuclear energy was made.

Opinion Polls on Gorbachev, Restructuring

AU0202154989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 3

[Report signed 't': "Mikhail Gorbachev in the Opinion of Poles"]

[Excerpts] The Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] has been regularly gauging Polish opinions about M. Gorbachev ever since he became CPSU general secretary. The year that has gone by encouraged opinion polls because of the Soviet leader's official visit to our country.

New CBOS material shows the results of October opinion polls on the subject of Gorbachev's person, policies, and Polish visit.

More and more Poles like Gorbachev. In 1988, almost 80 percent of respondents said they approved of him, 13.4 percent said they did not, and 5.4 percent remained indifferent. In two opinion polls, held in 1987 and 1988, he emerged as the world's most distinguished political leader, an opinion given by 59.4 percent of respondents in 1988, at the same time as which John Paul II was given second place, with 37.4 percent of respondents considering him to be such a leader; R. Reagan third place (22.3 percent), and M. Thatcher fourth place (20.2 percent). The percentage of those who support Gorbachev's policies has risen to 68 percent of the Polish population, according to CBOS research. Over 70 percent of respondents believe that he is kindly disposed toward Poland and the Poles. Only a few respondents (2-3 percent) felt hostility toward him.

CBOS does not think that the thermometers that register approval could go any higher. The great majority of Poles believes that a distinguished personality has appeared on the world political scene, a politician of a totally new mould.

What has caused this positive feeling toward the Soviet leader? The main reason (suggested by 47.6 percent of respondents) is the changes in the USSR and socialist countries, and the role in these changes played by the CPSU general secretary; the second reason (suggested by 14.6 percent of respondents) is the results achieved by Gorbachev in foreign policy; and the third reason (suggested by 12.3 percent of respondents) is Gorbachev's personality. Let me quote some of the more interesting remarks made by people in Poland: "Gorbachev is the author of restructuring and the new political thinking"; "there is a democratization of life in the USSR, freedom, and civil rights"; "the changes in the USSR are favorable for Poland"; "Gorbachev cares about people; he wants to improve their lives"; "the blank spots of history are being revealed, the truth about history and Stalinism is being told"; "Gorbachev is an advocate of disarmament and the author of peace initiatives"; "there has been a change in foreign policy and an openness toward the West"; "there is greater consistency in activity nowadays."

Some of those who remained indifferent toward Gorbachev (10.6 percent of all respondents), said: "I am not interested in USSR domestic affairs; they have no bearing on Poland," whereas some of those negatively disposed toward Gorbachev (7.8 percent of respondents) said: "I do not believe in the success of restructuring. restructuring is simply make-believe; a lot of talk but no action." [passage omitted]

As far as Gorbachev's July 1988 visit to Poland is concerned, 48 percent of respondents believed that the visit possessed major significance and untypical, important events occurred during it, and 45 percent of respondents failed to see anything special in it. [passage omitted]

CBOS says: In light of the results, a clear assessment of Polish reaction to M. Gorbachev's visit is difficult to make. The visit certainly was an opportunity to acquaint oneself with the Soviet leader's personality, and has confirmed his unconventional style and the directness of his contact with people. It has increased the number of his supporters. What made this visit different was the new style of conduct, a more relaxed state. Seldom is the political significance of the visit and its impact on Polish-Soviet relations accentuated. However, those who do underline its political significance have a numerical advantage over those who play down its significance or express hostility toward the Soviet Union.

Visit by Soviet Trade Delegation Reported

AU2101144289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Soviet Goods for the Polish Market"]

[Excerpt] At the invitation of M. Nurowski, minister of foreign trade, a Soviet trade delegation, headed by Soviet Trade Minister K. Terekh, visited Poland from 5 to 6 January. A protocol was concluded, whereby mutual deliveries of market commodities will not be less than R350 million in 1989. [passage omitted]

Books on Stalin Victims To Be Published

LD2201141489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Some interesting publications are being offered by the National Defence Ministry Publishers. To be published soon are Gen Wladyslaw Anders' memoirs entitled "Without Final Chapter", as well as a two-volume publication entitled "Jozef Pilsudski on War, the Army and Defense". The fate of Polish deportees to the Soviet Union has seldom been expressed in literary terms, so it is worth noting Jerzy Drewnowski's 1939-45 memoirs from camps in the far north, entitled "scurvy", and the "diary of a deportee" by Mieczyslaw (?Baginski), who in 1943 was groundlessly accused of taking part in a plot against Stalin.

World War II Body Reviews Katyn, War Leaders

LD2001000289 Warsaw PAP in English 2316 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—Following a meeting of the Organizational Committee for Observances of the 50th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War Two, chairman of that committee, Chairman of the National Council of PRON Jan Dobraczynski granted an interview to the TV news bulletin in which he announced an intention of the committee to forward an initiative to posthumously restore Polish citizenship to Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, the commander-in-chief of the Polish Armed Forces in the West during World War Two and one of the major emigree politicians.

The committee also wants Polish citizenship to be restored to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the premier of the emigree government (1943-1944), leader of the PSL Polish Peasant Party and vice premier of the Provisional Government of National Unity in Poland (1945-1947) who illegally left Poland in 1947.

Announcing that the organizational committee is tackling, among other things, the matter of Katyn, Jan Dobraczynski stated: "We want to motion that the officers murdered and buried in Katyn receive medals such as those received normally by the participants of the war of 1939."

As concerns Mikolajczyk, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the ZSL United Peasant Party addressed Premier Rakowski Jan. 17 with a motion to lift the resolution of the Council of Ministers from 40 years back which deprived him of Polish citizenship.

Leaders Salute Romania on Treaty Anniversary

AU3001135189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Telegram of congratulations from PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu on the 40th anniversary of the Polish-Romanian Friendship Treaty]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP Central Committee and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Bucharest.

Dear Comrades! On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and supreme PPR state authorities, we send the RCP Central Committee and the State Council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania sincere wishes and greetings on the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of the Polish-Romanian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

Reviewing Polish-Romanian relations over the past 40 years, we can state with satisfaction that this treaty has promoted the development of cooperation between our socialist states, having permanently established the chief paths of socialist joint activity, and encouraged an enhancement of the traditional friendship between the two peoples. The topicality of its provisions was confirmed in 1970 by a new treaty, which enriched the socialist substance and political-legal basis for Polish-Romanian cooperation.

Availing ourselves of the positive experiences accumulated during the years of socialist construction, we wish to enrich the substance of mutual relations, and introduce its new topics and forms both to the political-economic sphere and to social contacts. This complies with the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction, and conforms to the expectations of our societies and to the changes taking place within the socialist community in today's world.

We are convinced that the friendship and cooperation between our peoples and countries will continue to develop to the advantage of Poland and Romania and in the interests of socialism and peace, and that it will do so in accordance with the letter and spirit of the historic treaty.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, and through you the entire Romanian people, many achievements in work for the good of your socialist fatherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council; Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-17 Jan

AU2001114089

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU IN Polish monitored from 11 to 18 January 1989 reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski received Jozef Baryla, new Polish ambassador to Jordan and Syria, on 11 January. (12 Jan 89 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the Second National Forum of Workers Self-Management Bodies in Wroclaw on 12 January. (13 Jan 89 p 1) He received Gyoergy Biczo, outgoing Hungarian ambassador, on 15 January. (16 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, signed the book of condolences in connection with the death of Japanese Emperor Hirohito at the Japanese Embassy in Warsaw on 10 January. (11 Jan 89 p 1) He received Jozef Baryla, new Polish ambassador to Jordan and Syria, on 12 January. (13 Jan 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, Politburo member, received Gyoergy Biczo, outgoing Hungarian ambassador, on 16 January. (17 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, Politburo member, attended the Bydgoszcz party plenum on 15 January. (16 Jan 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Kim Yong-nam, member of the Politburo of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK foreign minister. (13 Jan 89 p 2) He received Gyoergy Biczo, outgoing Hungarian ambassador on 15 January. (16 Jan 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, met with the sociopolitical aktivs of the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta on 11 January, and discussed with them the stance of the OPZZ Executive Committee toward government trade union proposals. (12 Jan 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received outgoing Hungarian ambassador Gyoergy Biczo on 12 January. (13 Jan 89 p 2) He chaired a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Resolutions and Conclusions Committee on 17 January. (16 Jan 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member, laid a wreath at the monument to the heroes of Warsaw to mark the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw. (18 Jan 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, met with young railroad workers in Skarzysko Kamienne on 12 January, and discussed with them the need to rebuild party prestige among young people. (13 Jan 89 p 2)

Marian Stepien, Central Committee secretary, met with members of the Radio and Television Committee and with radio and television reporters on 12 January. He discussed party cultural policy with them. (12 Jan 89 p 2)

Ceausescu Delivers Speech at Birthday Ceremony

AU0202163089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" at a State Council ceremony devoted to his birthday, in Bucharest on 26 January]

[Text] Dear Comrades: First of all I want most warmly to thank the Executive Political Committee, the party, the State Council, and the government for their letter, appreciation, and good wishes.

I also thank all the organizations and the comrades who sent messages of congratulations in the name of their organizations to mark the occasion.

I take this opportunity to keenly thank the working class, the farmers, the intellectuals, and all our people for the sentiments of friendship and the warmth I have been shown these days.

I take all this as an expression of confidence of our entire nation in the justness of the revolutionary policy founded on the materialist, dialectical, and historical outlook, on the principles of scientific socialism of our party which proved, and proves, through all its activity, that its foremost aim is to fulfill the aspirations of all people for liberty, independence, welfare, and happiness.

It is for this reason that on this occasion first thoughts go to our people to whom I wish an ever more dignified and plentiful life in freedom and independence.

The letter that was read here can be said to have outlined the achievements in the implementation of the party program, on the path of Romania's socialist development. I must also frankly state here that all that has been made in Romania in the years of socialist construction—particularly since the Ninth Party Congress—furthers the concerns with our country's independent development. All these accomplishments are a part of history, of all that our people did during the various stages of development of its national being, for the formation of the nation of the unitary national state, for the overthrow of foreign domination, they are connected to the fight against landlord and capitalist oppression to become full master of its destiny, of its country. Had that long fight not been fought, we would not have these achievements today.

On this occasion I want to pay tribute to all who did their best in the course of a long and eventful history of hard fighting for the liberty and progress of the homeland. First of all, I wish to pay tribute to our people—the true maker of its destiny, of our nation's history. I stress all this because we must never forget—and I say it again—that we owe everything to the people, that we can ensure Romania's development, independence, and sovereignty only with the people, only by doing all for the people, for its welfare and happiness.

Unquestionably, there were many stages in history, many social systems. I spoke about all that at last November's plenary meeting and I will not take it up again now. I will only say that at different times in history, in various social forms and systems, there were always forces that planned and took action for the people's unity and its advancement, even though they may have made mistakes at one time or another which were linked to a certain extent, to the respective social system, to the respective historical development stage. We must think highly of all those who did their part, who did something for our nation, for the unitary national state.

Of course, we criticize, and will always criticize, the old social systems that were ousted by history itself to make way for a new, more just and better system. While criticizing past social systems we do not, and we should never, nullify the ones who, under those circumstances, pursued the advancement of the people, of the nation and the strengthening of our country's independence.

It is 96 years this year since the first worker party was founded in Romania. And we also celebrate 100 years since the working class and progressive people in Romania celebrated May Day as the day of solidarity of working people everywhere, of the fight against oppression, for a free, more dignified, and better life. The Romanian Communist Party was founded in 1921, actually a continuator of the first worker party in Romania which set to itself to take the revolutionary fight of the working class, of the advanced forces to a higher stage on the basis of a new conception, which it did.

As far as I am concerned, it was in 1930, therefore, 60 years ago that I first got into touch with the working-class movement, with the trade unions in Romania. Those were hard times in the world, hence, in our country too. The capitalist world was in crisis—economically, politically, and socially. There are many people—more senior of course—who can remember the difficult situation Romania was in at that time, the unemployment, the pay cuts, the enslaving financial-economic terms imposed on Romania by foreign capital and accepted by former governments. All that explains the big strikes, the revolutionary movements in the years 1929, 1930, 1931, and 1932 which culminated in the big actions and strikes in Prahova County and the city of Bucharest—at Grivita and other enterprises—virtually all over the country.

One may say that in those conditions, those huge strikes proved the strenghth of the working class, of our Communist Party to organize and lead the fight of the working masses. It should also be stressed that the February 1933 actions—in Prahova, at Grivita and at other enterprises in Bucharest and other worker centres—were the first wide-scope revolutionary movements after Hitlerism came to power in Germany which were clearly antifascist as well, being actions in defense of democratic freedoms, of the independence of the country.

It will be 50 years, on May Day, since the great anti-war and anti-fascist demonstration in the capital city, the first great movement in Europe after Nazi Germany occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia that called the Romanian people and the working class, in fact the working class throughout the continent, to fight fascism, to defend the independence of all states. What I say sums up the opinion of the foreign press at that time—not now—it is a fact that shows the justness of our party's policy—domestic as well as international.

I will not refer to other moments of history. We started building socialism. In 1988 we celebrated 40 years since the nationalization of industry, banks, and other major spheres of activity, and early this March it will be 40 years since the Central Committee plenum decided to set agriculture on a new basis, to cooperativize agriculture.

We liquidated the exploitation of man by man, we liquidated oppression to really make the working class the leading class of society and owner of the means of production.

That was not an easy thing to do and we had to fight for it. Even after 23 August 1944 many fell, even here in Republic Square, under the bullets of the reactionary forces in Romania. The foreign imperialist quarters, that could not reconcile themselves with the idea of losing their ruling positions which had brought them scores of billion dollars in profits between the two world wars, did then all they could to support reaction, the darkest, most anti-national forces, to raise obstacles to the revolutionary process of passage to socialist construction.

It is the merit of the communists, of our party, to have managed to accomplish the unity of the working class, primarily the unity between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, the unity of the trade union movement, of the youth and women movements, of other organizations, creating a powerful national front to fight for Romania's progress, for the complete elimination of foreign domination and for a passage to socialist construction in our homeland.

We must underscore and appreciate highly our party policy, all those who have contributed—to one extent or another—and done their utmost for these goals to be attained.

I participated in all these actions, in the missions entrusted by the party and by the people. Since 1965, I have been entrusted by the party with the high office of general secretary, and then, by the whole nation with that of president of Socialist Romania.

Indeed, we can take pride in all our achievements of the years of socialist construction, a period within which the Ninth Congress undoubtedly represents a moment of decisive importance for Romania's development today. Without the Ninth Congress, without the general line set by that congress and by subsequent congresses and national conferences, without the organizational economic and political measures adopted over that interval, Romania could not have boasted today the achievements it does.

We understood ever since then that we must do away with dogmas and cliches with obsolete, backward, outlooks that we had to reinstate scientific socialism. It was not socialism that led to certain negative states of affairs in one country or another but, rather, the violation of the scientific principles of socialism, the ignoration of the requirements of objective laws, primarily of the need for a continuous development of the forces of production—the deciding revolutionary factor of socialist construction and of the development of any social system for that matter.

One cannot speak about the progress and development of a people without the development of the forces of production, to match the stage the country or the society is in at a certain moment, without setting this process on the latest gains of science and technology, in all areas. Mankind's entire progress, from the primitive commune to our days, is the process of the revolutionary development of the forces of production, of science, of culture, of knowledge. There can be no progress, in any domain, without a dialectical correlation of all these. And I stress it again, a development which should permanently take into account the interests of the masses of people, of the working people, and of the whole nation. We may say that our party has firmly worked and formulated the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people on the basis of objective general laws of the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism.

That is why we cannot understand the theses cropping up in a number of countries that once again ease the way to various forms of private capitalist ownership. Should the workers who have become owners of the means of production go back now and hand over their means of production to private owners? Should they once again turn into the wagers—in a smaller or larger number—of a capitalist, be he a resident of the respective country or a foreigner? What does socialism have in common with that?

I must tell you that, as far as I am concerned, I am both preoccupied with and worried over that orientation, which is apparent in a number of countries, and, thinking back to the beginning of our working-class movement—to the emergence of scientific socialism, to my activity within the revolutionary movement—I find it difficult to understand what could justify our going back now. Because, in reality the working class and the people's handing over the means of production—no matter the form—would be tantamount to the liquidation of the bases of socialism in the development of society.

I intended to discuss this question at a special meeting but, taking advantage of the fact that a large number of basic party and state cadres are here, I will anticipate and refer to them.

We have always stated and worked according to the thesis that each people and each party should self-reliantly work out its general political line, should apply the general laws and the principles of socialism to the specific realities and conditions in each country. However, we have always stressed—and I cannot but repeat it now—that all that calls for a clear, consistent stance on revolutionary principles, on the safeguarding of the interests of the working class, which is the force and the leading class of society.

It is true that there are many problems in the world. The economic, political, social, finacnial crisis is very serious. Adding to it is the general political, military situation, the existence of the weapons of mass destruction, of the nuclear weapons in the first place. But comparing this situation with that in other periods, even with the present-day situation in various countries with differing social systems we may say—as we did at the November joint plenary meeting as well—that the capitalist system has demonstrated that it is inept and historically incapable to settle the fundamental issues of society's development. I am not one of those who say that the capitalist society will disappear tomorrow. And, at any rate, it will not disappear without the struggle of the working class, of the peoples in the respective countries. But then I am also not and do not want to be one of those who lose their confidence in the justness of socialism, of the revolutionary conception about world and who do not see the real situation, the prospects of the revolutionary struggle.

After the 1929-1933 crisis, capitalism found a way out, through fascism and war. Now, sure, the question of a world war is more intricate, as the arms in existence can destroy either side alike, life itself on our planet. So, a recourse to a world war in order to settle the issues is hardly presumable, although the possibility cannot be ruled out completely as long as the nuclear, chemical, and other mass destruction weapons are not destroyed. Mankind has known people that set fire to their own capital—as was the case of Rome—therefore, such a danger exists and we must be aware of it. That is why we must indeed do everything possible to definitively remove the threat of a nuclear war, of another world war, generally, to definitively liquidate the nuclear and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction to radically cut on conventional weapons.

Romania declared, worked and will most resolutely work, together with the other states, in this direction. And we do it setting from the demand to put the conditions in place for the advancement of socialist construction in our country. We are fully confident that it is only socialism that can ensure true equality among people—both social and national—create conditions for the assertion of human personality, for every individual to be able to assert, in close collaboration and unity with his fellow humans, his creative abilities in any domain of activity. I am referring to all these now having in mind the experience of our revolutionary movement, but also of the international revolutionary communist and worker movement, of social development in general and in consideration of the fact that 10 years after the party was created I started working in its ranks, I grew up with the party and I think that only by strengthening the party, its might, and its revolutionary spirit will we be able to attain our goals.

I began my activity as a worker in the ranks of the working class to which I am still greatly attached. I am one of the millions of the Romanian workers. As a matter of fact, the miners have made me their "miner of honor". I am closely linked to the working class and I firmly believe that only to the extent to which it will fulfill its historic mission—of building a new, better and more just system, without exploiters, a system in which the working class and all the other working people will remain masters of the means of production—will it have a dignified and free future, a future of welfare and happiness together with the entire nation.

Therefore, we must do our utmost to ensure the development of the forces of production, the strengthening of the working class, the improvement of its level of professional, technical, scientific, cultural, and ideological knowledge to have an advanced working class, from all points of view, a working class builder of socialism and communism.

In no way can we contemplate the possibility that our owners of the means of production—the workers—become proletarians again, deprived of the production means, become again slaves of a capitalist, bigger or smaller. This is not the way of socialism—and we must do everything possible to strengthen socialist property, in order to strengthen the role of workers as collective owners, that should ensure the powerful development of our industry, based on the latest gains of science and technology.

Our peasantry has gone a long way in almost 14 years to join the producer cooperative farms. And there are comrades here who know that there is virtually no county where I did not actively participate in the cooperativization of agriculture.

We have wonderful results in the development of agriculture. The look of our villages has radically changed. We still have shortfalls, but life itself proves that it is only the big cooperative ownership that released the peasantry's creative energy and provided for the progress of agriculture. You well know the former production levels—of 700, 800 kg of wheat, corn, and so on—across the country and, mind you, I am not satisfied with what we produce to this day. We want to produce more and we already have results which prove our great possibilities in agriculture. Today's productions—of 10,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare, of 20,000 kg and even 30,000 kg corn per hectare are a fact, not dreams. These productions are recorded by many units in our country.

Can we possibly contemplate giving up everything we have done in these 40 years, everything we have achieved in the scientific organization of agriculture? That would be nonsense. For us, the cooperative ownership, the whole peasantry's ownership of land and work means, is the only way to ensure both the progress of agriculture and the harmonious development of industry and agriculture—as two fundamental economic branches that condition each other compulsorily in the general process of socialist and communist construction in Romania.

I spoke time and again of, and I want to refer only briefly to, the great achievements in science, education, and culture. Through the years there were many scientists and personalities who achieved wonderful things in various sectors of activity. But never before have education, science, and culture witnessed such a general development as in the socialist years. Never before has the intelligentsia had such a decisive role in the entire development of our society, naturally in close unity with the working class, the peasantry, with the whole people. As a matter of fact, today the intellectuals are—almost totally—issued from among the workers and peasants. They are closely linked to the people, serve the people, and will always side with the people as this is the only way to ensure the progress of society and to enhance the role of science, culture, and education to ensure the general rise in the level of scientific, culture, knowledge of our entire nation. Let us work so that our working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the entire nation may become a nation with an advanced science and culture providing for the continual progress of our society, the welfare of all our people.

We have many good things and we are proud of what we have achieved. But I must say it again, that if we had worked a little better, we would have had even better results. We could have been 2 or 3 years ahead if we had worked better. Naturally, we had and have programs, but we have not seen to their implementation as we should. We have extensively discussed these problems in the last few months, including the first part of January so that anyone may draw conclusions on the need to improve our entire activity.

Let us do everything possible to implement the programs of modernization and better organization of the entire activity. It is really possible—by fulfilling the programs of modernization and better organization of work—to obtain, in the next 4 to 5 years, with the current means, an at least 50 percent increase of the industrial production with no other investments and no extra raw materials or fuel through their better management and utilization. As for fuel and raw materials, we can reduce 3 or 4 times the energy consumption in some domains, not by performing special works, but by applying known technologies, for some of these concrete solutions exist. Why do I refer to all this? We have great possibilities, we have a good material base as well as workers, technicians, engineers, and scientists who have the capability to generally settle any issue. But we have to work better, in a higher sense of responsibility. As a matter of fact, these are today the fundamental issues of improving the activity in our country.

The same problems crop up in agriculture and in the other sectors.

We have good organizational democratic forces. I have wondered: Could we have made mistakes? I have looked into the Constitution. To tell the truth I have found nothing that we should amend in our Constitution. I have taken the party statute—I have read the forms of democratic elections, from top to bottom, the system of organization of the working people's councils, and the operation of the bodies of democracy. We have a wonderful framework, comrades. There is nowhere in the world today where such a democratic framework in which all social categories may participate, one way or another in an organized manner, in the whole activity of society. The socialist democracy and unity front practically encompasses the whole nation. In trade unions, in youth organizations, in other organizations—scientific, of men of letters and others—and many other citizens are also included. We also boast a large democratic organization of people who are not party members and which already includes 4,000,000 and provides a broad framework for participation in the entire political and organizational life. In all these we can—and we must debate extensively—all the problems of our home and foreign policy, decide how to work for the implementation of development programs. What concerns us is that there should be more initiative, more intense action for the fulfillment of these programs, that the way how to improve the activity in one sector or another should be debated and discussed, yet starting of course from the principles of scientific socialism, from ensuring our homeland's socialist development. It is not possible and we will not accept anything that should contradict the interests of socialism—which represent the interests of the whole nation, the guarantee of the people's welfare, of its independence and sovereignty.

I referred to one of the important issues of the international life, to the need to do everything possible to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons and other arms of mass destruction. Why do we think this issue should be considered in a unitary manner? Because it is not possible to secure the peoples' peace and independence by acting in isolation for the liquidation of one weapon or another. To do so means to pave the road to the creation of power centres apt to impose their domination over the world. It is only by concomitantly eliminating chemical and nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction that a guarantee can be given that like opportunity will never crop up—and we must work most resolutely along that line. Furthermore, we must act for a radical cut on conventional weapons. Romania took a step along that line two years ago—by consulting the entire people—and cut back on those weapons. Some of the tanks we reduced are now working to implement land improvement and irrigation programs. And we can share our experience to others, too.

The reduction of military spending is an objective, vital necessity, so that the serious economic problems in the world could be surmounted.

We must further work and do everything for the negotiated settlement alone of the litigious issues, firmly starting from the renunciation of the threat and use of force, of the policy of dictate and interference in other states' affairs. Each people's independence and sovereignty, each nation's right to choose its development path as it wishes, with no outside interference should be unswervingly observed.

There are very difficult economic issues. The developing countries' situation in this decade has grown worse with each passing year. In 1988—as shown on the data provided by some international organisms—the developing countries paid to the developed states a few tens of billion dollars more. The balance sheet between what the developed countries gave and what the developing countries paid back shows that the developed countries got several tens of billion more.

The developing countries' debt topped 1,200 billion dollars. We know what this heavy debt burden is. In fact, from the Middle Ages at least, the Romanian principalities, then Romania, in one way or another, had to pay money, tribute to this and that in the interwar period, more than half of our economy was in the hands of foreign monopolies.

Our country's debt to the imperialist circles was of such a nature that it was a heavy obstacle in the general development of our country, even in capitalist conditions.

After 23 August we had debts too. In 1980 these debts were very large. We shall probably have to count what we had to pay compared to what we borrowed—and we shall do it—to prove how unfair and unjust is the current international financial system.

Even in developed countries—apart from unemployment, the housing shortage and all others—the maintenance of a so-called state of development is the result of the spoliation of the developing countries by the financial, monopoly capital. In this period, too. In this period we also made a quite substantial contribution to the maintenance of that situation. This state of affairs should be liquidated. That is why we are firmly at the side of the developing countries. Even if, by implementing our program, we reach a higher socioeconomic development level we will stay together and always work together with the developing countries. This is our duty both as a socialist country and as communists and revolutionaries—to always side with those fighting for their independence, for their economic and social welfare.

We will pay off our foreign debt and we are determined to work in all firmness along that line. However, we consider that in no way should we accept that our country suffer because of that to any extent or, through like means, export part of our national income.

We are for broad international collaboration and cooperation rather than isolation. But we are against the policy of spoliation and oppression promoted by monopolies and the financial capital. We want equal economic relations and mutually advantageous cooperation—and we shall work in all firmness along that line. We are resolved to expand collaboration with all states. Naturally, we intend to pay greater attention to collaboration with our neighbors, with the socialist countries. In consideration of Romania's overall development, I think we can commit ourselves to a broader collaboration with the neighboring socialist countries, with other neighbors and with other countries in Europe and, naturally, commit ourselves to a broad cooperation with the developing countries.

The collaboration and cooperation in production upon the principles of equality and mutual advantage are an objective factor, a necessity, and we shall act and develop this collaboration. What we critize and what we will not allow is an inequitable cooperation conducive to the subordination of the Romanian economy to other states or to various foreign monopolies.

We shall further promote in our cooperation with other countries the same principles of equality, of mutual advantage. We must work for actually establishing in the world new relations of collaboration among states, among peoples, in their socioeconomic development, because in the absence of collaboration underdevelopment cannot be eradicated and progress secured. But we view this collaboration relying on new principles of full equality—and I believe that we shall have to commit ourselves in all firmness along this line.

We must strengthen the collaboration with communist and worker parties, strengthen the cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other progressive, democratic parties everywhere, naturally, on the basis of similar positions on various problems and, mostly of the need to work for disarmament, for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, for a world of justice, equality, in which each nation may develop freely and self-reliantly.

We are firmly convinced and I wish to affirm it here too—that the working class keeps being the decisive force with all peoples. And the recent events in several countries demonstrated what a force the working class is when it acts in unity. Therefore, those who do not trust in the working class are wrong. The working class was, is, and will remain the decisive factor of socioeconomic progress and of the victory of the struggle for disarmament, for a better and more just world.

Sure, new forces have appeared. The intelligentsia has become a very important and conscious force that understands that it must no longer serve the producers of guns and nuclear weapons and must work together with the other working people for peace, for the progress and independence of the peoples. In unity, the working class, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, and the peoples make up the only force that will ensure the triumph of reason, the achievement of peace, and the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

With these thoughts I once again want to thank you for your appreciation of my activity, which I take as appreciation of our party activity in general, our party leadership, and our people's work.

I wish to assure the party and state leadership, the entire party and state active, the working class, the farmers, the intellectuals, and all the working population without distinction as to nationality, all our people that I will do all, in the future, to live up to the confidence placed in me, to ensure the fulfillment of the economic and social development programs of our party program of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancement to communism. I will always take action with all my energies in the interest of the working class, of farmers and of intellectuals, and of all our people. I will always consider—please remember this, all of you—that the first duty of every communist and of every party and state worker is to ensure the best possible living and working conditions for the working class—and with it also for farmers, for intellectuals, and for all people. But I repeat, the living and working conditions of our working class must be among the best. Not for one moment can we think of measures that could diminish the working classes opportunities to work and develop. Rather, we should think to develop the forces of production, create more and more jobs to put conditions in place in order that each citizen of our country, in one field or another, but primarily all youths, should have a workplace ensured, contribute one's share of work, derive appropriate incomes from work, and enjoy a dignified and civilized life.

I am aware of the many things we have to do, but the changes in our country and the way we have gone are such that we can look to the future confidently.

The way that lies ahead is far easier than that which is behind us, even though it still has many obstacles.

Everything we achieved was with the people and for the people, under party leadership. Therefore, we will take the new road to the high summits of communism in close unity, under party leadership, with the people, and for the people.

As long as we do so, we will be unbeatable.

As long as we do so, we will ensure the continuing welfare and growth of our nation.

Let us do all to achieve that.

I, for my part, want to thank you all and to wish you success in your activity. Furthermore, I call on you to do your best—at your workplace, in full unity in the bodies each of you works in, and generally, across the country—to ensure the unswerving implementation of the programs, of the aspirations of our people.

Let us do all to steadily strengthen the material and spiritual might, the independence and sovereignty of Romania.

I also make my best wishes of success to all people and express my thanks for the sentiments I have been shown these days—which I say again I regard as an appreciation of the party. May all their wishes and aspirations for increased welfare and happiness come true.

I wish you, all our people, much health and happiness.

Ceausescu Receives Iraqi Foreign Minister

AU0102160189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1515 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/2/1989—On Wednesday, February 1, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq [title as received], now on a visit to Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed, on behalf of the president of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, warm salutes and the best wishes of health and success, and the Romanian people wishes of continuous prosperity and progress.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and sent the Iraqi head of state his salute and best wishes of success in his entire activity.

During the talk, reference was made to the good Romanian-Iraqi ties, as well as to the wish to further expand these relations on various planes, in keeping with the understandings covenanted at top level.

The reception was attended by Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania.

Ceausescu Grants Interview to Finnish Daily

AU0102160289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1514 GMT 1 Feb 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the Editor-in-Chief of the KANSAN UUTISET Daily of Finland"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/02/1989—On Wednesday, February 1, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Yrjo

Rautio [spelling as received], editor-in-chief of the KANSAN UUTISET daily of Finland. On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview to the KANSAN UUTISET daily.

Dascalescu Receives Cables From Foreign Leaders

Canadian Premier's Telegram

AU0102123389 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received a telegram from the prime minister of the Canadian Government with expressions of thanks for the congratulations extended to him on the reelection of the new Canadian Government.

Satisfaction with the quality of relations between the two countries and the belief that these relations will continue to expand in the future, in the interest of the Romanian and the Canadian people, are also expressed in the telegram.

Israel's Shamir Offers Thanks

AU0202122689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received a telegram from Yitzhaq Shamir with expressions of thanks for the congratulations extended to him on the occasion of his appointment to the office of prime minister of Israel. The hope that the relations between Romania and Israel will continue to develop in the mutual interest of our nations is expressed in the telegram.

Meeting Marks Treaty Anniversary With USSR

AU0202194289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 2 Feb 89

["A Meeting To Mark the Anniversary of the First Romanian-Soviet Friendship Treaty"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/2/1989—On the 41st anniversary of the first Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and the Soviet Union, a meeting was organized at the "Progresul" leather and footwear enterprise in Bucharest by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association.

In the attendance were party and state activists, representatives of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association and of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, numerous working people.

Also present were the staff of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, as well as a delegation of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, now visiting Romania.

Speaking about the significance of the respective event were Nechita Constantin, director of the enterprise, and V.N. Ryshko [spelling as received], member of the Central Management Board of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association. The speakers highlighted the importance of the treaty for the continuous development of the links of friendship and manysided collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples and the deciding role of the summit meetings and understandings in the expansion of Romanian-Soviet relations, for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of the cause of socialism and peace.

LCY Plenum Central Comittee Session Detailed

31 Jan Proceedings

LD3101225889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 31 Jan 89

["LCY Central Committee Session Proceedings"—TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item, transmission begins with part 2]

[Excerpts] [Dateline not received] Pancevski called on Central Committee members and all Communist leaders to "leave their narrow interests" and to abandon passions. Whoever does not have the strength for this will have to leave both the party forums and the LC. Pancevski sees the reasons for the nonimplementation of agreements in the fact that the interests of the working class are not being followed and that there has been a yielding to bureaucratic collusions and nationalisms of all hues, particularly those of the separatist type. For this reason, in his opinion, people are indignant and are leaving their factories and, instead of the LC placing itself at the head of the justified workers' demands and of the resolving of problems, in every specific environment there is squabbling over the assessment of these gatherings.

Calling for unity and joint solutions, Pancevski noted that there are also cases where the working class is being manipulated, which must be prevented. He called for radical cadre renewal, citing the example of Kosovo, where the political situation is not improving, he said, because of the refusal by the political leadership to bear responsibility. The case of Fadilj Hodza, too, and the delay in calling him to account, confirmed that a united stance did not exist, Pancevski said, adding that many leaders in the country are resigning, and that this is not the case in Kosovo, despite clear stances. All those who are burdened by the ballast of bureaucratism, nationalism, and separatism—in fact all those who are blocking a way out of the crisis—must leave the political scene, Pancevski stressed. [passage omitted]

Drago Sofranc spoke about events in Montenegro, stressing that the people have begun to play a serious role on the political scene. Controversial assessments of these events come from the top of the party, which are insulting to the Montenegrin people and which question the revolutionary nature of the meetings. the people are therefore justified in asking for the accountability of all those who make such assessments, including the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president. [passage omitted]

Dusica Danilovic-Tanaskovic devoted chief attention in her discussion to the situation in Kosovo, stressing that the responsibility for the unresolved problem of Kosovo is also borne by the LCY Central Committee Presidium which, by its opportunist and overdue stances, did not contribute to a more rapid solution of this painful problem of our country. Illustrating this with examples, Dusica Danilovic raised the question of what the Presidium and its president had done to prevent the counterrevolution in Kosovo, what the indulgent and generalized statements by the highest party forum on Kosovo mean, and what the trips to Kosovo by some members of the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, such as Dragosavac and Setinc, mean. "The Presidium has made a clear assessment of the November demonstrations in Kosovo, but this statement was only cajoled out of them after lengthy efforts", she stressed.

Criticizing the introductory report by Stipe Suvar because of its insufficient self-criticism and for identifying the president with the Presidium, and for failing to give sufficient attention to "the process of democracy, which has encompassed so many people," Danica Danilovic also criticized the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for "not having a correct approach to the events in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Vojvodina," and she added that when it is a matter of the events in Vojvodina, they represent part of the "process of the reform of the LC." Danilovic supported the request of the Vojvodina LC for holding an extraordinary LCY congress, adding that "the failure to accept this initiative would mean nonrecognition of the LC conference of this province as a forum."

Speaking about the process of change which has occurred in the SR of Serbia, in connection with which he stated his conviction that "bureaucracy has been uprooted in Serbia," Nikola Jovanovic turned to the "fabrications" being put forward in other environments at the expense of this repbublic of ours. Stressing that "time will show the truth," he criticized Communists in other environments for not having opposed the bureaucracy, which is spreading "an anti-Serbian mood." "The people and the Communists of Serbia will not justify themselves in front of anyone, he said, for wanting to resolve the Kosovo problem".

Jovanovic also made a series of critical comments about the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium President Suvar, supporting these with the assertion that a series of false assessments have been given about the most important events of recent months in the country—the solidarity meeting in Novi Sad last July, the interrupted and unfinished session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and also the opportunism and delay in assessing the November demonstrations in Kosovo. And when these stances were adopted, nothing was done to implement them. He critizied the Presidium for not making its views clear in connection with attempts to introduce a multiparty system, and so on.

Jovanovic, criticizing the introductory speech by Suvar, criticized "the oportunistic parts" of the speech, as well as "the call for political pluralism." "The speech as a whole does not give answers for a way out of the crisis," Jovanovic stressed, calling for an extraordinary LCY congress to be held. [passage omitted]

In reference to the attacks on the Central Committee and its Presidium, Bukovcan said that, in addition to justified and well-intentioned criticism, there is also evidence of lethal and destructive criticism. "The way the campaign against the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee is conducted is neither communist nor democratic. It is a real, unprecedented witchhunt which, if continued, would have very negative effects.

I am firmly convinced that we Yugoslav communists have the strength, will, and ability to create a Yugoslav synthesis of key interests, Dusan Ckrebic stressed.

Recalling the difficulties of last year in the economic sphere and the reasons why many moves were short lived, Dusan Ckrebic warned of the problems in achieving Yugoslav unity in the economic and political sphere. We have begun to talk the language of our opponents. We are simply competing in creating qualifications which are giving us a headache, and I only know for sure that Yugoslavia will not collapse, Ckrebic stressed.

There have been differences in the LC in the past, and there will be again. However, the problem is that we are slow to identify them and overcome them. We should consider them in a civilized way. We must accustom our ears to tolerance and patience.

Speaking about what the new government should do in order to end the negative economic trends, Ckrebic noted that it must create scope for reform within the framework of the given constitutional solutions. If it considers that the constitutional framework is too narrow, the FEC should seek an understanding with the republics and provinces so that the reform does not suffer.

Ckrebic then pointed to the importance of the reform of the political system and of the LC. In his assessment, party reform will be the most complex part of the social reform. We must cast off the lethargy of a party with prerogatives of power, Ckerebic stressed, adding that it is unacceptable at the very beginning, while this reform, as he put it, is only warming up, to randomly set conditions as to who is for reform and who is against it. Some people wish to qualify Serbia and Vojvodina, with their rich democratic and cultural conditions, right from the start, in one way or another.

At the beginning of his speech, Dusan Dragosavac pointed out—as he put it—attempts to discredit and slander him. He said that he had visited Kosovo within the framework of a task the LCY Central Committee charged him with, and that he had submitted a report to the Central Committee and has nothing against an open debate on the report. I do not feel either normally or politically bound to reply to fabrications, lies, or slanders, and could not care less what those who are spreading them think.

Having expressed concern at the situation in the country, Dragosavac stressed that we should no longer bury our heads in the sand in light of the fact there there is a split in both the LCY and Yugoslavia, that counterrevolution is at work, that we are in an emergency situation. We are faced now, in his view, with an onslaught of hostile, neo-Stalinist idelogy, and this is an issue which has to be tackled. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the witchhunt against the federal bodies and, especially, against the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and the fabricated statements attributed to them, Dragosavac asked: How is it possible that those who have been in their post for just 1 year are being blamed for failure, and not those whose mandates last for 4 years? [passage omitted]

Dragosavac also called for a debate to consider how it is possible to use a party conference to wage a campaign against the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the basis of one statement alone denouncing him. What we have here is intrigue, Dragosavac said, stressing that such a debate should proceed from the statute, which envisages accountability measures against communists who use lies in order to morally and politically discredit other people. [passage omitted]

Comrade Slobodan Milosevic has recently said that all those who have caused quarrels among the Yugoslav nations should depart from political life and be punished for this. The list of people who have been concerned that there should be as many quarrels as possible in the country would really be a long one, but the nations, fortunately, for the time being are still not quarreling, although much is being done to make them start, Franc Setinc said.

However, it would be good to analyze the reasons why such a neurotic situation has arisen in our country, where any rationality is almost made impossible. A destructive passion is spreading, instead of our building new relations to suit all those who make up our common state.

For some time now, he went on to note, we have been doing nothing apart from removing leaders and officials regardless of whether or not they are to blame, and we are far less interested in the qualities of the people who are coming to take their places, if they are coming at all. Everyone is merely accusing. And few people are speaking about themselves and their own responsibility, few people are prepared to give their own contribution in seeking concrete solutions for a way out of the crisis. And here I do not exclude some new officials who have just been elected, whom we have recently heard speaking at various gatherings and protest marches, who have been simply showing with their views that a certificate of baptism is not an essential proof of progress. Here I am also thinking of the method according to which a leadership which has been replaced is hostile in every respect, while in the new leadership everything is supposed to be the best imaginable.

Such exaggeration, such phraseology is in itself counterproductive: It is a bad advertisement for the policy which it seeks to build. Such a method is proof of a lack of humility and of a poor historical memory.

For this reason it would be good if, in establishing responsibility for our current situation, everyone began first with himself, because if we do not clear away garbage in front of our own doors, it will pile up on the doorsteps of our "fraternal neighbors," so that in the end we will all suffocate in it.

I understand people whom the current drama—with the fall in living standards, in this time of people's bread [a type of brown bread]—has forced to the extreme limits of desperation. However, one should not show understanding to those who are inflaming that dissatisfaction and channeling it in the wrong direction, Setinc said. "It is really criminal to channel this dissatisfaction into chaos," Setinc stressed, noting that he is not thinking just of people on the streets, since "there is also chaos in our thoughts".

"Regarding demands that Comrade Stipe Suvar should be relieved of his function as president, I am against this because I do not accept the way in which accounts with him are being settled in a campaign. The two of us have disagreed on many things. I, too, did not do propaganda work for his election, but I am now prepared to defend him in the face of campaigns, attacks, and intrigues. I think that his responsibility for the situation in the country cannot be assessed outside the context of the responsibility of the Presidium in its wider composition: the responsibility of the presidents of the Presidiums of the republican Central Committees and provincial committees," Setinc said. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 16-22 not received] [passage omitted]

Veselin Vukotic made a sharp retort to the words of Petar Matic that Milosevic and members of the Central Committees from Vojvodina and Montenegro allegedly did not respond concerning the need for a Yugoslav platform, and he stressed that he rejects such a view. I cannot accept that we be classified in such a way and that such assessments are expressed, and therefore I am for all those who hamper the process of unity in the LC leaving the scene, Veselin Vukotic said.

Then, Perko Vukotic took the floor. He drew attention to the information and propaganda war which, he said, is unprecedented. The characteristic of this war is that the honor and pride of peoples is insulted, Vukotic stressed.

Concerning the events in Montenegro, he said that they have a progressive orientation. Social dissatisfaction has been encouraged by the social crisis and distrust of the leadership, which has brought the country to where it is now. This leadership cannot be the exponent of changes and it must be changed, Vukotic stressed. He assessed that the working class and youth in Montenegro support the demands for greater unity in the LC and the crucial links between Montgenegro and Yugoslavia. The youth of Montenegro showed full political maturity in the recent events. This is a source of new cadres, Vukotic said.

According to him, the greatest danger for the fate of the country is the political situation in the country, disunity in the ranks of the LCY and in its leadership, and in the sick bureaucratic consciousness of individuals. A halt must be called to all of this, Vukotic stressed, and he requested that differences be overcome and that a way finally be found out of the blind alley because, he said, no one has anybody's mandate to behave in this way.

Why do we close our eyes to the fact that the very course, content, and outcome of the 17th session was unworthy of us and especially of our Presidium, Stanislav Stojanovic said. One the one hand, accompanied by great effort, all the vital controversial political questions which stirred Yugoslavia last year—from the peoples' meetings and the constitutional changes in Serbia to the responsibility for Kosovo and cadre renewal—have successfully been resolved. This part of the session ended in a way which was characterized by the formulation and final remarks of our president that no one republic had lost, but also that no one unprincipled coalition had won either.

At the same time, Stojanovic said, the obstinate insistence by the majority in our Presidium on there being a vote of confidence in them, and especially the outcome of this voting, demonstrated a different configuration of forces, and the president's formulation concerning coalitions turned out in the end to be a victory for an unprincipled coalition. After this session the Presidium discussed on several occasions the topic of an unprincipled coalition in the LCY Central Committee. It always expressed verbal disagreement with such relations, justifiably appealing to the creation and nurturing of mutual trust. However, the question of the soundness of or lack of a truthful basis in the thesis concerning an unprincipled coalition in the LCY Central Committee Presidium was, in fact, not discussed, and there was avoidance of it being raised at all at the 19th session of the Central Committee.

Why did our Presidium, Stojanovic asked, insist on a ballot so suddenly, despite the fact that the statute does not envisage this at all?

Was the outcome of the voting in fact a measure of accountability brought against Dusan Ckrebic, without there having been prior discussion of his work, or is Suvar's interpretation, as he gave it to foreign journalists, correct—that this is an atittude toward a policy which most people in the Central Committee do not like? If it is, Stojanovic noted, was there not a secret vote on the policy of the Serbian LC without there being a prior open discussion about this in the LCY Central Committee?

And finally, is the even more drastic interpretation of this outcome of the 17th session—as stated by Janez Stanovnik in the United States—correct? The LCY Central Committee Presidium did not make any statement about this either. It did not put this on the agenda at all, as if there is nothing to be said about this, either to itself or to the Central Committee, although this is a matter of public interpretation of the content of a session of the LCY Central Committee which went round the world and provoked major disputes in the country. Is the completely non-self-critical and emotive rejection of criticisms—which were directed at the Central Committee in connection with this—sufficient, something which was the case with yesterday's report by Stipe Suvar, in which such criticisms were crudely rejected as flippant claims and provocation? Are we capable of talking about this openly and honestly and are we, in this context, capable at all of learning some lessons from all this? [transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 28-32 not received] The question arises, Muhiba Kulovic said, of how to achieve the unity of some leaderships today when their confrontations are becoming more and more obvious.

The nationalists are the ones who benefit most from these conflicts. For this reason, Muhiba Kulovic said in her speech, the pooling of forces for overcoming this long-lasting crisis in the party and especially in its republican and provincial leaderships, is of invaluable importance for the further successful work of the LCY. [passage omitted]

In his reply to Slobodan Milosevic, Azem Vlasi said that some of his assessments are not valid.

First, it is not true that the gatherings in Kosovo were condemned as nationalist by the leadership in Kosovo.

We have been and remain the joint front of action of all progressive forces from the ranks of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo, but also through the institutions of the system, Vlasi said. I could ask comrades holding the most prominent posts in our republic of Serbia a question in this connection—How many times did they turn up at the sessions of the provincial committee (PC) and the meetings of communists with the people from the ranks of all nations and nationalities? And we are constantly pointing out that Kosovo is the burning issue in this country.

If Comrade Slobodan thinks that there is now a kind of turning point in the sense that the front of all the people will continue to be built without distancing ourselves clearly from what was negative in these gatherings and meetings, I am skeptical in that case. In any case I belong to those people who wish for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo by all adequate means and methods which would truly lead to the stabilization of the situation and not just to an illusory stabilization.

Marko Lolic stressed in his reply that he never talked about homogenization in Serbia, but about homogenizations and nationalisms. I think, he said, that my position is completely clear, precise, and principled, and I wouldn't like to be misunderstood.

In connection with Vlasi's reply, Ali Sukrija said that it is not accceptable to express suspicion that things would go for the better even after what had been done from the point of view of cadres. We should have complete trust in the PC, which should not be taken for granted, but should depend on what they have acheived. [passage omitted]

We have all fought for this Yugoslavia, both veterans during the war and in the postwar development. Its interests are above anyone else's partial interests, of any republic, any province, any nation. [passage omitted]

Communists in Kosovo of all nationalities—especially the Albanians, as they are the majority population—must bear the brunt of the burden. But together with the Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Gypsies, and so on, because there can be no success otherwise, Sukrija stressed.

Nedeljko Sipovac, who asked to speak, stressed that the extraordinary conference had submitted its demands to the Central Committee for the convening of the extraordinary congress and for the comrade president to be replaced. The Presidium agreed—which hasn't been mentioned here—to explain and substantiate this initiative. This will be done, and the Presidium will discuss this initiative in the way envisaged by the code of practice. Why are we now making different assessments of it, posing dilemmas, and so on? I think that the extraordinary conference as the largest forum of the Vojvodina LC has the right to such demands.

Asking to speak again, Azem Vlasi said that he did not express suspicion in the renewed provincial leadership, but that the point of his speech was that some forms, methods, and what happened last summer should be finally clarified. He is suspicious of any steps forward without this.

I sincerely hope that Vasil Tupurkovski will manage today to take off his halo or the anathema of the unprincipled coalition, Boris Muzevic said. By this, I am not asking Vasil to say such a thing, but I would like to say clearly that as a member of the Central Committee, I did not go into any coalition with anyone at the 17th session. Let those who did say so now.

I am absolutely against all those metaphors and pompous words which captivate, intoxicate, and hypnotize. There is too much of that. I am against superficiality, generalization, and any unargued discussion. I am explicitly saying that I agree with the introductory speech of Stipe Suvar which, as people forget, was supported by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. I beg you, when things are attributed to Suvar which are not just his, to take into account this element. I also support, Muzevic went on, the speeches of Stanko Stojcevic, Dusan Dragosavac, Abdulah Mutapcic, Milan Kucan, Franc Setinc, and Dusan Ckrebic, apart from the party's support.

I do not believe in freedom if I am threatened by it. If Suvar were to submit his resignation because of accusations against him, I would vote with both hands that he remains the president, because what he did on the basis of accusations during these 6 months would last some people several lifetimes. These qualities of his should perhaps be used so that he can do all the things he was accused of doing wrongly in these 6 months. This is such nonsense that I cannot even believe that someone could have actually said it.

What we have recently been saying about the people and the nation, Muzevic said, is far more complex than the ritual and semimetaphorical nature of how a nation emerged. As far as I am concerned, all our stupidities are hidden behind that would-be event, because nowhere in Yugoslavia has anybody with any commonsense ever described anyone's nation as a street, mass, or mob. As far as I am concerned, I certainly did not. It is a fact, and I consider this to be the case—that according to the Constitution, it is the people who rule this country. [passage omitted]

Besides, Muzevic went on to say, our differences concerning the nations in fact do not refer to nations at all. Nations only serve for manipulation and to provide the argument for something else. The differences in fact boil down to the assessment of a deep social conflict. At the congress, we said that this was a conflict between self-management and etatism. Those who have now invented the syntagma between coalitions and nations at the republican and provincial level as well as at the federal level could at least review that perception of the congress because the congress syntagma calls for the strengthening and further development of self-management and of socialist democracy, whereas the new one presupposes bureaucratic etatism as the prevalent attitude. [passage omitted]

A comrade from the LC of Serbia wholeheartedly criticized the Central Committee, the Presidium, and Suvar, citing as an example the so-called abortive session of the two Presidiums in Kosovo. One of the people most responsible for the situation in Kosovo from the Serbian republic, Muzevic said, did not attend that session.

If he had manufactured as many goods as the number of words used since the 13th congress, we would have been far better off, was the acid remark made by Vukasin Micunovic, who made it clear that he was speaking in his own name compared with many others who, as he put it, spoke on behalf of the classes, peoples, republics, or provinces.

Micunovic stated support for the report yesterday by the head of the Yugoslav party, Suvar, denouncing, as he put it, "the campaign conducted against the president." He singled out Kucan's speech because what he thought about the way out of the crisis was in the same vein. He criticized those who claim that the party leadership has not done anything. In his view, the fact must not be neglected that the first party conference was held, at which, he believes, a new option was provided, the option which the LC had lacked, and Suvar has in many respects contributed to that. When a comparison is made with his predecessors, Suvar has made a move forward and achieved progress, Micunovic said. Please let us not, dissatisfied with the situation as we are, address all our disappointments toward the Central Committee and the Presidium, he appealed, and urged that the party "put itself in a better shape" and that other sociopolitical organizations become independent. He entered into a polemic with the thesis, suggesting that those who have brought us into a crisis cannot take the country out of a crisis, because he sees it as being onesided and leading into a settlement of old scores and even revenge. Micunovic could not accept the suggestions whereby those who tendered their resignations should not speak out, especially since those times have long since gone. This is not 1948, nor are we in a wartime situation. Feeling himself insulted by Tupurkovski's statement about "an unprincipled coalition," no matter in connection with what is was made, Micunovic said that he does not allow anyone to describe him as a person ready to enter any kind of coalition. [passage omitted]

At the present time, Josip Eterovic sees the commitment and the program of Ante Markovic, the candidate for the office of the new Federal Executive Council, as the only bright spot. He proposed that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and its president should be supported. Eterovic also suggested that plenary meetings of the republican central and party committees be held so that one can discern what one has specifically done in one's own environment, meaning what has been done on the implementation of the stands of the LCY Central Committee, of the three reforms, and especially on sorting out the situation in Kosovo.

At the beginning of his speech, Radoje Konstantinovic voiced criticism of the method of work of the Central Committee and of the method of work in our society in general, saying that he no longer blames those people who have been carrying on for decades with this mania for meetings for anything at all—he rather admires them.

There is constant reference here to the struggle for Yugoslavia, but we have Yugoslavia. Come on, let us all fight so that everyone in it can do better, Konstantinovic said.

He sees the meetings as places where philosophical concepts crack because there is a constant reference to freedom, and all that people can now elect directly is their local community.

We are committed to secure the greatest possible degree of democracy, to secure as many rights as possible to every citizen, and to give life to the principle that everyone can vote and can be elected, and that he can be replaced in the same way. Our political system must be harmonized with democracy and with human rights. Then we shall all be equal, Konstantinovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Some leaderships, in Cerjan's view, have failed to create conditions for the reforms and have therefore no other option but to accept programs which clash with our commitments. Ideological dilemmas have not been resolved, there is evidence of dogmatic behavior and resistance and of forces who see the reform as not being in their interest. These forces first appeared at the first conference of the LCY, when they advocated changes according to their own scenario. At this moment, we can afford no compromise with the opponents of the reform since, that would amount to treason, Cerjan stressed. [passage omitted]

Are the times so bad that messages have to be sent via speaker's platforms, the press, or at meetings? Can we no longer face each other to sit and resolve disagreements, and explain the differences, Dragica Zgrebec asked. Anyone who nurtures an ambition to lead the country by relying on support from only one nation is either naive or malicious. After all, what will happen if each individual republican leadership justifies its "own" policy by support for it from its "own" people, she added, saying that the majority of various concepts on offer today advocate the removal of the LC from the scene and, by implication, the destruction of the AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia [passage omitted]

Stefan Korosec noted that an analysis would most probably show that there are fewer differences than one might think from the discussions. However, disagreements are on the increase. He thinks that there are more disagreements in practice, in specific behavior, and in political action. There are also the questions of personalities, Korosec stressed. Individuals are important, he noted, in every revolutionary movement, including our own. At this moment, the most important thing is that responsible people should exert maximum efforts in the direction of integration and thus secure a way out of the crisis. We don't have Tito today, and this is why we must solve problems with joint efforts and not just discuss them.

Stefan Korosec noted that many are rightly attacking the LC, but no one is proceeding from his own responsibility. For there can be no social climate and conditions for the creating of a better socialism without a reform of the Trade Union and the Socialist Alliance. But these criticism are a moral issue, Korosec said.

Our crisis and the criticism of the LC are in fact the crisis and criticism of a forum-like work and real socialist elements in the practice of the LC, Sergej Kraigher said. He thinks that when assessing unity or lack of it and when speaking about democratic centralism, one must take into consideration the differences which objectively exist in the implementation of the joint policy and the goals of social development. It is from this point of view that one should also assess the activity of the organs and members of the LC and establish joint tasks and duties. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on the speech by Druzic, Kraigher said that there should be more such comrades in the LCY Central Committee Presidium who would insist on getting rid of the various differences among members of the Presidium within this organ. This is precisely because the members of the Presidium are representing not just themselves but also their republics, certain concepts which have become prominent in the course of their work, and in assessments of their work at the time when we elected them to the Central Committee as members of the Presidium, Sergej Kraigher said. [passage omitted]

The 14th LCY Congress should be held by the end of the year, according to the proposed conclusions read out by Ivica Racan on behalf of the working group.

The proposed document which will be discussed by the Central Committee proceeds from the assessment whereby there can be no departure from the stands of the LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session. In this connection, it is stated that opportunism, indecision, and laziness with regard to the realization of the reforms cannot be tolerated.

These conclusions would bind the LCY Central Committee Presidium to prepare the ideopolitical platform for its activity concerning the preparation of the new constitution. There is insistence on overcoming the differences within the LCY concerning a number of questions of the further development of society as well as on resolving existing disagreements in a democratic way. [passage omitted]

The Communists, working class, nations, and nationalities of Vojvodina support rapid solutions to Kosovo's problems, the reform, and a united and strong Serbia in a united and fraternized Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Kovacevic stressed in his speech.

In solving these problems, the Central Committee is expected to call all the social phenomena of vital importance for the future and development of the socialist self-managing Yugoslavia by their true name. [passage omitted]

"The decisions and demands made at the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference are not directed against any nation or nationality. They are in response to requests for more quickly meeting the demands and needs of the working class and people on the entire Yugoslav territory. They are an expression of the desire of the entire membership for quick and effective changes and an appeal to mobilization for achieving the envisaged reforms."

After an announcement by Stefan Korosec, Stipe Suvar asked to speak, and delivered a lengthy speech on what he assessed as unacceptable demands for his replacement.

Sreten Djuric said that the provincial conference was dignified, ideologically oriented, not manipulated, and not nationalistic.

He recalled Marelj's remark that Suvar said that provinces would be exempt from their participation in the Federation if Serbian unity is at all achieved. This means that the Central Committee, namely its Presidium and president, are bothered by a united Serbia. This caused bitterness among the participants of the conference and their stand was clear.

Everything was recorded, detailed information will be submitted, and the Presidium will examine the issue. [passage omitted]

Darja Colaric said that she disagrees with the words and conclusions of the previous speaker. I support the Presidium of our Central Committee and ask that we all be patient so that we do not condemn people in advance, but only when we have documents in our hands which could be supported by good arguments. [passage omitted]

Our political relations and economic situation have moved away from the goals we established at the LCY conference, Ivan Brigic said. National divisions and homogenizations have joined all the known causes of our insufficient abilities and efficiency and opposition to implementation of the reforms.

What several years ago looked like a tendency—total sovereignty of the republican and provincial organizations of the LC—has now become almost a fact. This prevents the possibility of an integrational function of the LCY without which a broadly decentralized social system of Yugoslavia cannot function normally, not even in far more favorable conditions than that existing at present. This situation can no longer continue. Neither the extreme separatist solutions nor the continuation of present blockades can be considered. A solution can only be sought in the realistic policy of concrete moves based on working class interests and established by the guidelines of social reforms which will ensure the integration of Yugoslav society on a socialist self-managing basis. [passage omitted]

Milo Djukanovic said that the differences which remain even after this session lead to the conclusion that an extraordinary congress of the LCY is very urgently needed because an emergency situation requires an emergency congress. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on Suvar's explanation, Djukanovic said that communists of Radoje Dakic did demand his dismissal but that this was not formulated as a stand of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. One of the conclusions of that Central Committee is to demand responsibility and establish a need to revise the assessment of the Presidium on the events in October. If none of the official organs of Montenegro spoke about coup intentions how is it that this is contained in the communique of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, asked Djukanovic, explaining that this was one of the reasons for dissatisfaction and for demanding his accountability.

Stipe Suvar's statements on the degree of discipline in the Montenegrin leadership and on the stand that meetings cannot dismiss the LCY leadership have seriously irritated the Montenegrin public, he said. You have not mentioned the people, he replied to Suvar's interjection, but there was no one else but the people at the meetings. Apart from that, your assessment turned out to be wrong because the people did dismiss the leadership, Djukanovic told Suvar.

Slobodan Milosevic briefly intervened after Djukanovic with a reply to Vukasin Micunovic's question of whether the events in Vojvodina are historic. These events have marked the fall of the policy of the breaking of Serbia and this policy was a historic disgrace. The fall of this policy is a historic victory, let history refute it, Milosevic said.

Stanko Radmilovic proposed that Suvar's responsibility should not be discussed, noting that this question shouldn't have been even raised outside the agenda and before the additional information demanded by the Presidium is obtained.

Radmilovic noted that it wasn't a good idea that Racan and Vrhovec used "words which were too heavy" such as the settling of political accounts, purges, and pogroms. It is not a question of settling of accounts but of a statutory demand to make a move. Neither did the processes in Vojvodina take the course of unfortunate phenomena of purges and pogroms in socialism, Radmilovic stressed, drawing attention to the fact that he is personally convinced that communists and people in Vojvodina are very embitterred by the policy and establishments in Vojvodina so far. They simply asked everyone to leave. You think that this is a pogrom and the communists of Vojvodina think that it isn't, but that they were removed from the political scene and that it was a matter of quasi-democracy.

In his opinion, it is not good to create artificial divisions according to people in Yugoslavia who are in favor of the market, europe and democracy and those who are orientated toward real socialism and Stalinism. Divisions are based on another aspect, especially on Serbia-Kosovo relations, Radmilovic said, warning that divisions are also caused by attitudes to questions such as Suvar's responsibility, "where we are not capable of achieving a Yugoslav synthesis on the way out of the crisis". Where are we going, Radmilovic asked. [passage omitted]

According to Micunovic, the unargued demand for Suvar's dismissal only casts a shadow upon the Vojvodina LC conference. He is surprised at the fact that none of the participants of this conference were thinking what they voted for and on the basis of what arguments they decided that the conference should send a written demand for Suvar's dismissal.

This is a phenomenon which has to be energetically nipped in the bud. For this reason, and also seeking additional documents, I must think about the motives of the people who took this stand, and even about their responsibility for presenting to the public falsehoods about Suvar, Micunovic concluded.

Bogdan Trifunovic joined in the polemics and he disputed the allegation of Josip Vrhovec concerning the existence of two different ideo-politically formed parties in the LC. Stressing that there is open talk about differences and that differences are not concealed, Trifunovic said that the overwhelming majority of LC members belongs to one party—the LC—and that it has the strength to resolve this situation.

Trifunovic also rejected Vrhovec's remarks on Stalinism which we heard, he said, during the discussion of the responsibility of Fadilj Hodza. He does not agree either with the term "purge", which is used by some in the LC to describe what happened in Vojvodina.

Ugljesa Uzelac advocated the calming of political passions and the elimination of divisions and confrontations but he joined those participants in the debate who described, in pessimistic tones, the current situation in the country and the LC. He illustrated this not only by the divisions but also by the national trends toward homogenization, the promotion of separate ethnic identities, and aggressive anti-Yugoslav and anticommunist theses. It is the duty of this Central Committee, Uzelac stressed, that we open up the way for the development of socialism and self-management. In addition, he expressed doubt as to whether the proposed conclusions on offer would serve as a long-term signpost or would only serve to calm the situation temporarily.

Uzelac advocated that a congress of the LCY be held as soon as possible and that preparations for it begin immediately, but not in an atmosphere of division and confrontation. [passage omitted]

We are beginning the struggle to overcome the deep economic crisis but lack any unity; we engage in confrontation and quarrel about very important matters, said Josip Vrhovec. In his opinion, there are two lines in the LC which, judging by some indications, could already be determined though they have not yet been formulated. These are the lines which understand the Yugoslav community and its federal character in different ways.

Vrhovec said that these matters should be put on the agenda and discussed in a different way. If this is not done, he thinks, the deepening of serious conflicts will be made possible, which means pushing the LC toward a total crisis in which it would lose the historic right to its own existence as a leading force in this society.

Dwelling on demands for a multiparty system, Vrhovec said that there are at least two, to a considerable extent, ideopolitically formulated parties in the LC today. Their existence is one of the causes of this deep crisis and why it is at a standstill.

None of the political parties is capable of developing democratic relations within itself and of doing the same thing in society. He thinks that in our practice there are tendencies toward so-called purges. If we allow these pogroms, harangues, provocations, threats, blackmail, and censuring of people and pretend as if this does not concern us, as if some third person is doing it—which is, of course, an ordinary lie—then nothing can be done to train this LCY for historic battles, said Vrhovec.

Quoting a statement from a veterans meeting—that it is more dangerous to defend someone who has been attacked without arguments than to attack someone without arguments—Vrhovec said that this was pure Stalinism which is being hushed up.

He asked the Central Committee to include this matter on the aganda and pass concrete conclusions on how anyone continuing to do so will suffer the most severe consequences and how there will be no place for him in the LC. Someone must leave the LC, either the innocent ones or the ones who think that the LC is a means for persecuting people and settling accounts.

Referring to the demands for Stipe Suvar's replacement, Vrhovec said that those demands that were in accordance with the statute should be considered in line with normal procedure and with the agenda. In his view, the LC will come under the hammer unless those agitating against many other comrades were not called to account. [passage omitted]

Taking the floor again, Vrohovec noted that while the LCY Central Committee session was underway, discussing very important issues, a meeting (which Stipe Suvar later said was held in Lovcenac) had taken place in which participants professed to represent the "voice of the people." The meeting, as Vrhovec put it, sent a message to himself, Joze Smole, Janez Stanovnik, and others to the effect that they had not invented or created Serbia and therefore could not destroy it. Vrhovec ended by saying that the message deserved no comment. [passage omitted]

Objective differences are not our problem, said Vasil Tupurkovski, but the tendency to neglect the Yugoslav dimension, which is the only solution for our society. The main features of that dimension, which Tupurkovski went on to explain in great detail, are democratic and progressive action.

Vasil Tupurkovski said that all the leaderships were implicated in present divisions and stressed that neither the working people nor the youth accept such relations. As for our future, he stressed that political pluralism had to be taken as a reality within which democratic ways of building society should be sought.

Vasil Tupurkovski went on to endorse Vinko Hafner's remarks about Stipe Suvar, stressing that no one was perfect, but that the dignity of one's function always should be safeguarded.

With reference to current events, Tupurkovski said that the gatherings possessed a democratic potential that should be encouraged and further developed, and not otherwise. Tupurkovski ended by saying what he admitted he never wanted to say, but now felt obliged to. In fact, he addressed Josip Vrhovec in connection with the latter's "amazement" at the accusations of coalitions and allegations about realignment into practically two parties. In Turpurkovski's view, it is Josip Vrhovec's discussion, in fact, which gives rise to "amazement." [passage omitted"]

Today's discussion, in which more than one-half of the LCY Central Committee members took part, ended shortly after 2000. Tomorrow, at the 20th session's third working day, debate will be resumed on the situation in the country and on the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. At the end of tomorrow's debate, the LCY Central Committee is expected to adopt conclusions, while Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is to make a closing speech. This will be followed by a debate on cadre issues and on issues concerning the membership fee.

Conclusions Adopted

LD0202122189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2234 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today the LCY Central Committee adopted the following conclusions:

"In the light of the debate on the political situation in the country, the situation and relations in the LCY, the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee at the session, and in view of the existing unfavorable economic and political situation and trends in the country, the LCY Central Committee at its 20th session, from 30 January to 1 February 1989, charged all its members, organizations, and organs with the task of launching a decisive initiative to overcome this situation.

"First, the LCY Central Committee unanimously agreed that the difficult economic and social situation requires the LC to work consistently on enhancing political and work responsibility in all organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities in the efforts to resolve efficiently everyday existential problems facing the workers and citizens, thus providing at the same time a support for the struggle to implement the economic reform and its integral part [as received] and for constitutionality and law and for a more efficient work of all the institutions in the political system. The solutions of these problems and of all the key development issues in society must be the focus of attention of all LCY organizations and organs in their work and activities.

"Second, the LCY Central Committee concluded that there can be no deviations from the stances adopted at the LCY Conference and from the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and that responsibility in both the LC and society in general, for their consistent implementation, should be enhanced and full initiative employed by all the parts, organizations, and organs of the LC.

"Third, it is necessary to promptly carry out a social reform as the main prerequisite for emerging from the existing crisis and as an essential contribution to the reconstruction of socialism. Vacillations and idleness in formulating and implementing the three reforms whose task must be carried out without any delay will not be tolerated. These tasks provide a foundation for the LC's widespread activity in society, and the way they are fulfilled will be the main criterion for assessing the work and conduct of each individual member, leadership, and organization of the LC.

"The LCY Central Committee charges its Presidium with the task of preparing an ideological-political platform with guidelines for the LC's activity in the work on the new constitution.

"Fourth, the LCY will continue to fight for the further development and construction of socialist, democratic, self-managing, independent, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, of equal nations and nationalities, republics and provinces, on the foundations of the principles of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and will resist any attempt to destroy, reshape or threaten it.

"Fifth, the LCY Central Committee notes that serious differences exist in the LCY about some important issues concerning the future development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy. Their nature is such that it is impossible to overcome them by out-voting, let alone by further exacerbation in ideological, political, and national conflicts and unprincipled and unfounded 'polemics'; by trying to impose one's views, stances, and interests as general or Yugoslav; by extorting political concessions through pressures, propaganda campaigns, and by mobilizing and turning the public against other environments or officials by, at the same time, having a denigrating attitude toward principled and founded criticism, the confrontation of opinions, and to the tolerance of differing views in one's own environment. Such manifestations must be overcome through well-argued talks with the fundamental reform commitments of the LC as their point of departure and within the framework of the reform of the LC itself, through further democratization in the internal relations with in the LC and of its social role. To this end the LCY Central Committee supports any principled and founded criticism of the above manifestations as well as criticism of bureaucratism in the work of the LC organs. The LCY also calls on communists to counter unfounded censure or attacks on personal integrity.

"Sixth, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium will be held particularly responsible for ensuring that all key controversial issues and existing squabbles within the LCY, its parts, and leaderships are being settled through a democratic dialogue and as interparty problems to avoid burdening all society and blocking the work of state organs and the institutions of the political system.

"Seventh, aware of the existing situation, the LCY Central Committee is not trying to shun calls for intensifying its responsibility as well as the responsibility of its Presidium and its president when there is delay in adopting and implementing stances and conclusions. This commitment has been reiterated by the decision to convene the 14th congress earlier than planned as well as by carrying out cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and by establishing the responsibility of individual members of the LCY and of the Presidium. At the same time the LCY cannot endorse the practice whereby the blame is laid exclusively on the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, especially when this is done as a way of avoiding one's own responsibility, or when it involves unprincipled and unfounded attempt to discredit people or as an expression of disagreement with this or that stance of the Central Committee and its Presidium adopted through democratic procedure envisaged by the LCY statute.

"II [figure as received]

"The LCY Central Committee calls on all LC members, organization, and leaderships to make their contribution to the efforts to implement the conclusions of the LCY Conference and of the 17th LCY Central Committee session through their reform-conducive activity and behavior, to the efforts to resolve people's everyday problems and to eliminate an unhealthy atmosphere and relations in their ranks. Internal conflicts and slanders which have replaced necessary and valuable critical arguments and tolerant discussions on open issues and differing views will contribute neither to the efforts to fulfill the LC's tasks nor to the LC's social role.

III

"The Central Committee must make its direct contribution to the efforts to carry out these commitments by;

"1. completing the cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium by the middle of February;

"2. submitting, as soon as possible, for open discussion within the party a concept of the ideological-political platform for reforming the LCY which will serve as the political platform for the 14th LCY Congress and which is expected, through major innovations in the concept of socialism and its idea of its own social role, to strengthen the fundamental values of our socialist revolution, of socialist self-management and socialist democracy, and to pave the way for a democratic, socialist, and stable development;

"3. in line with the LCY statute and in response to the demands made at an extraordinary conference of Vojvodina LC and following consultations with the republican and provincial LC organizations and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] adopting a decision to prepare and organize the 14th LCY Congress by the end of 1989;

"4. preparing a session of the LCY Central Committee to discuss interethnic relations and nationalism after the issue has been considered by all central and provincial committees of the LC and by the LCY committee in the YPA;

"5. in the light of the seriousness of the situation in Kosovo, the LCY Central Committee charges the LC organizations and organs with the task of stepping up their efforts in fulfilling the tasks of the 9th and the 17th sessions of the Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will provide guidelines and directions for this activity and will regularly inform the LCY Central Committee about its results.

"The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is being charged with the task of assessing, as soon as possible, the causes and character of the protest gatherings and demonstrations in the period 17-21 November. It is also asked to establish the initiators and organizers of these events, to determine the degree of responsibility of its members and those in its Presidium for the failure to carry out the tasks of the 9th, 16th and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee and to complete the process of cadre renewal in the Kosovo LC;

"6. The LCY Central Committee will analyze the differences in views which became evident at this session of the LCY Central Committee and which reflect a particular policy and practice employed by parts of the LCY and will call on their proponents to provide arguments for their stances and, at the subsequent sessions of the LCY and within the framework of preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, try to come up with specific solutions to this issue;

"7. The LCY Central Committee will discuss in specific terms and establish responsibility for the failure to implement the stances of the LCY Conference and of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the absence of any contribution by some parts of the LC to the efforts to fulfill the conclusions of this session."

Extraordinary LCY Congress Prospects Viewed

AU0102191189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Jan 89 p 5

[Vlado Slamberger commentary: "Party Catch 110"]

[Text] After the big words and sharp demands that have been heard in Yugoslav political life recently, the party grass roots know only that the 14th LCY Congress will be held. Whether it will be an extraordinary congress or an early congress, or even a regular one, remains unclear, even after the demands for an extraordinary congress by the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Serbia. It has become evident that the statute is on the list of weak laws, statutes, and rules [sentence incomplete as published]. This has happened. The Vojvodina and Serbian Communists are convinced that they will elect their delegates to an extraordinary LCY Congress to be held as soon as possible, but some parts of the LCY (including the LC of Slovenia), in a sporting spirit, still support an early congress.

What is "Catch 110"? It is an article of the LCY Statute that says that an extraordinary congress must be convened at the request of a single part of the LCY (on Wednesday, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium joined the request of the LC of Vojvodina at its extraordinary conference, and it will not be difficult for its decision to find support among the membership).

However, the same article also says that an extraordinary congress is convened by the LCY Central Committee (3 months after a request has been made, but it can convene an extraordinary congress at its own initiative, as well). Statute experts explain, however, that the LCY Central Committee also has the right not to convene an extraordinary congress, in spite of all the requests, but "in this case it must explain its political positions responsible for not respecting the party statute."

In the meantime, the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference has empowered its provincial committee to begin preparing, in the spirit of the statute and under its obligations as the initiator, the agenda of an extraordinary congress, the materials for it, and the draft documents. The LCY Central Committee must decide whether it will accept the request (in the spirit of Article 110) or reject it (according to another interpretation of the same article). Experts are warning that in this case—if the request by the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Serbia were rejected—at least two-thirds of the members of the LCY Central Committee must be present at the session, and at least half of those present must reject the request by Vojvodina and Serbia.

The LCY congress—extraordinary, early, or regular—is acceptable from the point of view of the LC of Slovenia members as formulated by Milan Kucan at the latest session, if it is directed toward "convincing, optimistic, and encouraging visions of a joint development program, which alone can be a realistic foundation of the successful life together and self-assertion of peoples in such a varied multinational community" as Yugoslavia. If, however, it is a case of "monolithism and intolerance, which do not recognize the right to a different opinion and the dignity of somebody thinking differently," then the members of the LC of Slovenia will not attend, and that will no longer be their party. The tones in Novi Sad, when the idea of an extraordinary congress was born, were unfortunately such that they were closer to the latter variation than the former.

An extraordinary LCY congress as soon as possible would make some sense only if—the 20th LCY Central Committee session on Monday will probably not be able to do this in its place—it means an end to the "quiet putsch" in Yugoslavia, as assessed by the Slovene political leadership concerning the latest events in Yugoslavia; if it ends the war over people (Stipe Suvar versus the representatives of the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Serbia and others); and if it restores prestige and effectiveness to the constitutional and legal order to the extent that this is within the power of the Communists in leading offices.

However, if it happens—and pessimists caution that it may—that the extraordinary (early or regular) LCY congress only brings to power a new party bureaucracy and that the delegates who are in a majority turn their attention toward an equal redistribution of the Yugoslav poverty in the state, if the LC again changes into a monolithic party in power—as some people wish, regarding this as the only way out of the present deadlock—then, instead of being a nonmonopolistic and nonparty political organization working with persuasion within the political system, such a congress would only mean a further split in Yugoslavia. The LC must not and cannot afford this.

Defense Secretary Calls for Stronger Army

LD0202172789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, February 2 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army is maximally engaged in efforts to overcome the crisis in which Yugoslavia finds itself, Defence Secretary Gen. Veljko Kadijevic said here on Thursday.

Gen. Kadijevic informed the political leadership of the Republic of Macedonia about the stands of Army members on current problems in Yugoslav society and advances made in developing the country's defence capacity and in the Armed Forces. He pointed out that the Army would continue to consistently follow Tito's course and develop the general Yugoslav profile of all members of the armed forces.

The Army has been and is an important factor of Yugoslavia's stability and cohesion, a forge of brotherhood, unity and patriotism, a guarantor of independence and socialist selfmanagement future of the country, said Gen. Kovacevic. [name as received] In this context he stressed the importance of raising the level of combat ability of units and the Army as a whole and strengthening their morale and political unity.

Italy's Andreotti Holds Meetings; Ends Visit

Talks With Loncar

AU3001150189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] In our view of Yugoslavia we think that two things are extremely important: Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy and its unity. This was stated by Italian foreign minister Giulio Andreotti, who is visiting Belgrade at the invitation of Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Today, Ministers Andreotti and Loncar spoke about relations between Yugoslavia and the EC, the CSCE talks, the situation in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and bilateral relations.

Minister Andreotti stressed that Italy is fully supporting Yugoslavia in joining the integrational processes in Europe.

This afternoon Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will receive Minister Andreotti.

Presents Views to Journalists

LD3001215189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 30 (TANJUG)—All meetings with the Yugoslav side so far have testified to the convergence of our views on bilateral relations and topics of European and international affairs, visiting Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti stated after a meeting with his host, Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, here on Monday.

Talking to Yugoslav and Italian journalists, Andreotti specified that Italy was prepared to uphold Yugoslavia's reforms both on the international level, by helping to reschedule its foreign debt, and bilaterally, through its own financial assistance.

Andreotti pointed out that Italy was also willing to help Yugoslavia in joining the European integration trends and, especially, in coming closer to the European Community. The Community will no longer be an "entrenched fortressa" after 1990, and it is the right time now to seek the most appropriate ways of association and cooperation with the countries which do not belong to it, he said.

Andreotti indicated that Italy was very sympathetic to Yugoslavia's commitment to the idea of introducing a market-oriented economy and more pluralism in political life.

Asked by Italian journalists about sources of his confidence in Yugoslavia's ability to overcome the crisis, he replied that his assessments are not of a short-term nature and should not be viewed as connected with daily events in Yugoslavia.

The Italian foreign minister said that the two delegations had concentrated largely on the problem of implementing a memorandum on economic cooperation until 1990 which was signed last year. He announced that its implementation would be discussed at a special meeting by financial and other experts of the two countries.

By the memorandum, Italy undertook to grant Yugoslavia 500 billion lire in assistance by the end of this decade and to set up joint ventures with it under very favourable terms.

Received by Markovic

LD3101160389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, who is paying an official visit to Yugoslavia, met Ante Markovic, the Yugoslav premier-designate. During their meeting, they discussed our economic reform, bilateral economic cooperation, and some international issues.

Leaves for Home

LD3001204789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti ended his 1-day official visit to Yugoslavia and left Belgrade this evening.

At Belgrade airport in Surcin, Minister Andreotti was seen off by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and his assistants.

Dizdarevic Travels to Cyprus for Visit

Seen Off at Airport

LD0202105589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0853 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, the president of the SFRY Presidency, today left for a 2-day official friendly visit to Cyprus. On his visit to Cyprus, President Dizdarevic is accompanied by Budimir Loncar, the federal secretary for foreign affairs.

President Dizdarevic was seen off at Belgrade airport in Surcin by Stane Dolanc, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency; Abaz Kazazi, president of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces; Milos Milosavljevic, vice-president of the FEC; Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs; Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; Ljubisa Korac, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency; and Milivoj Maksic, the deputy federal secretary for internal affairs; and other officials.

The visit by the president of the SFRY Presidency to Cyprus, which takes place at the invitation of President Yeoryios Vasiliou, confirms stable friendly relations and a high degree of cooperation between the two countries.

Welcomed by Vasiliou

LD0202151389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Nicosia, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today arrived in Cyprus for a 2-day official visit at the invitation of President Yeoryios Vasiliou.

At Larnaca airport, the president of the SFRY Presidency was welcomed by Cypriot President Vasiliou and his aides. President Dizdarevic was accorded highest honors reserved for a head of state. Also present were the Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou and the leaders of all political parties represented in the Cypriot parliament.

The Yugoslav delegation also includes Budmir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other officials.

The welcoming ceremony was also attended by Yugoslav Ambassador to Cyprus Petar Boskovic, as well as the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy in Nicosia. At the airport in Larnaca, Presidents Dizdarevic and Vasiliou made brief statements in which they stressed the importance of Yugoslav-Cypriot friendship and bilateral cooperation.

The Cypriot president voiced his belief that the long-term links between the two countries would be given an impetus by this visit. Our close links are built on a solid basis, he stressed, and noted the long friendship and cooperation between the founders of the Nonaligned Movement, President Tito and Archbishop Makarios. The original principles of the movement of nonaligned countries have lost neither their value nor topicality, he underlined. President Vasilou ended his statement with reference to a delicate stage in the efforts to resolve the Cypriot problem in light of intercommunal negotiations which are underway under the UN aegis. Yugoslavia supported our efforts toward a just solution to the problem of Cyprus, President Vasilou said.

Raif Dizdarevic stressed that the visit and the upcoming talks will provide a joint opportunity to provide impetus for the development of the otherwise very good friendly relations and a diversified and fruitful cooperation between the two countries. These relations have been developed over the decades on the principles whose foundations were laid by the great leaders of our two countries, Archbishop Makarios and President Tito. We will be in a position to exchange views with you about all those issues on which Cyprus and Yugoslavia have for many years had identical views, and which have been in the focus of their concerted efforts, especially those concerning future tasks of the Nonaligned Movement, of which the two countries have been members since its inception, Dizdarevic stressed. [passage omitted]

Macedonian LC Presidium Addresses Issues

LD2201182589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium believes that the sociopolitical situation in the country has been deteriorating, even after the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The Kosovo drama, the growth of nationalism, and the intensified socioeconomic and political disintegration in the country are forcefully present. Confrontations between the individual leaderships also serve as a dramatic warning, threatening to change into confrontations between nations and nationalities, as does the further deepening of the federalization of relations within the LCY.

The Presidium, at a session chaired by Jakov Lazaroski, discussed the current sociopolitical situation in the country and preparations for the next session of the LCY Central COmmittee. Members of the LCY Central Committee from Macedonia, members of the Presidium, and the executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Macedonia also participated in the session.

The Presidium, it is stated, deemed that the conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress, the 1st LCY conference, and the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are not being realized.

In the Presidium's opinion, such a complex situation calls for the implementation of the LCY's established stances to be ensured at the forthcoming LCY Central

Committee session, and for specific measures and activities of organs, organizations and members of the LC to effectively overcome existing relations and political problems in the LC. [passage omitted]

The responsibility and the tasks of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and LC Central and Provincial Committees in this session, and especially with the preparations for the session, are to ensure the economic reform, democratic transformation of the LC, preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, and that the building of the united front of the Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins in Kosovo are fully addressed.

This session should also signify a turnabout in relations within the LCY. Having clearly qualified the divisions, absolutization of one's own interests, and the neglect of general and joint interests as ideopolitically unacceptable, the session should create the conditions to make people aware of the LCY's uniform activity so that we can extricate ourselves from the crisis more quickly. In this context, the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium rejects the confrontations between the LC leaderships as exceptionally harmful and nonproductive, producing absolutely negative political consequences. Considering the mood of the membership and of the general public in the SR of Macedonia, the Presidium insists that the LCY Central Committee resolutely halt this trend and create the conditions for a principled discussion, and overcome—on the working class basis—the completely contradictory viewpoints. This is in the interest of the construction of a uniform policy within the LCY and respect for democratic centralism.

The Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium once again stresses the importance of cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. This renewal must be an expression of the substance of the commitments of the 1st LCY conference and of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. This is why the next session of the LCY Central Committee must be a specific act in the implementation of this exceptionally important task. The Presidium notes that any delays in cadre renewal will have harmful consequences in the ideopolitical activity and efficiency of the Central Committee and especially of its Presidium, and these must not be allowed. On the contrary, steps must be taken at once to fill the vacancies in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and this is one of the conditions for the stabilization of the situation in the LC and in the country. [passage omitted]

The Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium concluded that the 14th congress must be held before expiry of the deadline laid down by the statute.

Macedonian Assembly Examines Albanian Separatism

*LD2401225489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2045 GMT 24 Jan 89*

[Text] Skopje, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in communes in western Macedonia, where various nations and nationalities live together, is still burdened by the hostile activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, it was assessed at a session of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today.

As was announced, judicial bodies in Macedonia have successfully worked on preventing illegal trade in real estate and revealing of other illegal activities, which are aimed at driving the non-Albanian population from these parts of Macedonia.

Another 155 teachers of Albanian nationality have been suspended and 165 other teachers were punished in Macedonian schools, where the youth has been indoctrinated by Albanian separatists. Some 350 books in Albanian have been put out of use after an expert control of books and textbooks. The majority of these books, 270 of them, were imported from albania by publishing houses in Kosovo (the center of the Albanian separatist movement).

The republican parliament assessed that relations between Macedonian and Albanian students have improved in western Macedonia, but that national division still existed.

The majority of Albanian schoolchildren in western Macedonia oppose attending schools, where students of different nationalities are in the same class. This was the reason for the demonstrations staged in Kumanovo last summer, when several policemen were injured, and the organizers were arrested and sentenced to prison terms.